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MARTIAL AND THE EPIGRAM
IN SPAIN IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVEN-
TEENTH CENTURIES

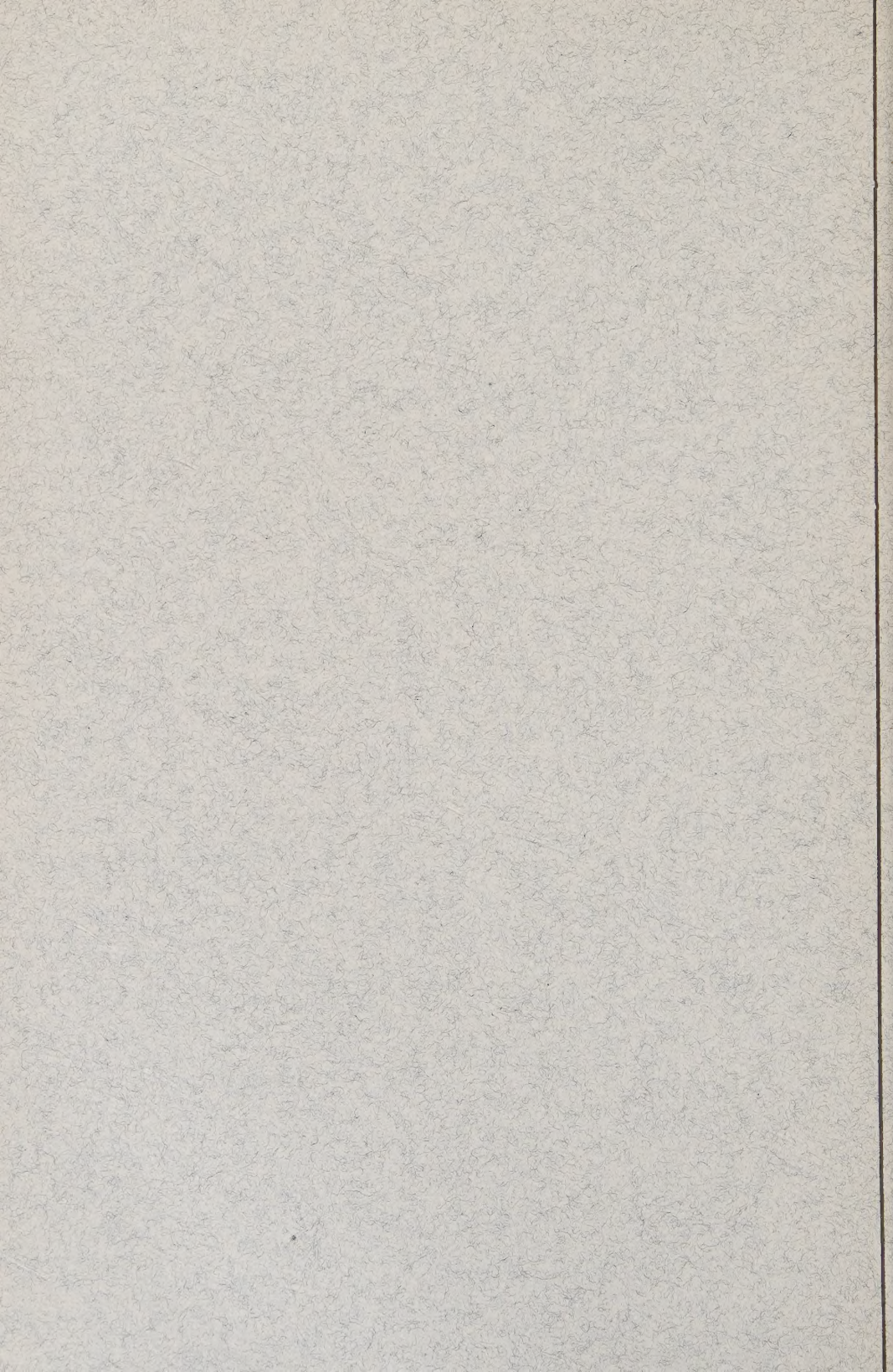
ANTHONY A. GIULIAN

A THESIS
IN ROMANICS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA

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To

DR. J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

FOREWORD

The writer is indebted to his teachers, Dr. Miguel Romera-Navarro and the late Dr. Hugo A. Rennert; to Dr. Walton Brooks McDaniel for advice on the account of Martial's life, and to Don Rafael Martínez of the Centro de Estudios for his kindness in furnishing information concerning three manuscripts preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Above all, he wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. J. P. Wickersham Crawford, to whom the initial conception of the subject is due, for his active and generous co-operation willingly given at all times, to his unfailing interest and encouragement, his illuminating suggestions and advice regarding the arrangement and revision of the material and for his careful and painstaking reading of the manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

The epigram, at first merely an inscription, became a definite literary genre in the hands of Martial, the greatest of epigrammatists, and the many definitions of it that have been given rest chiefly upon the formula established by him. From a literary standpoint, the *Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy* defines an epigram as “una composición poética breve en que con precisión y agudeza se expresa un solo pensamiento principal, por lo común festivo o satírico.” Similarly, the *New English Dictionary* describes it as a “short poem ending in a witty or ingenious turn of thought to which the rest of the composition is to lead up.”

Brevity, wit, and a sudden turn in the ending are emphasized in nearly all of the definitions. These characteristics are neatly described in the lines of unknown authorship:

Omne epigramma sit instar apīs; sit aculeus illi;
Sint sua mella; sit et corporis exigui;

which were translated into Spanish by Tomás de Iriarte:

A la abeja semejante
Para que cause placer,
El epigrama ha de ser
Pequeño, dulce y punzante.

Lord Chesterfield's delicate paraphrase should also be mentioned:

The qualities rare in a bee that we meet,
In an epigram never should fail;
The body should always be little and sweet
And a sting should be left in its tail.

Other critics have emphasized the serious nature of the epigram as an instrument of satire, and in so doing, merely re-echo Martial himself who wrote on one occasion:

Nescit, crede mihi, qui sint epigrammata, Flacce,
qui tantum lusus ista iocosque vocat.

In considering the influence of Martial upon Spanish literature, it should be recalled that the poet was born at Bilbilis in Hispania Tarraconensis, near the present-day Calatayud, between the years 38-41 A. D. In the year 64 he went to Rome and associated himself with his compatriots, Quintilian, Lucan and the Senecas. He remained in Rome for approximately thirty-five years, and his verses record his intimate contact with all the strata of Roman society, from the slaves to the emperors themselves. Endowed with keen powers of observation and a pungent satirical wit, he has transmitted to us a series of sharply limned figures of the decadent age in which he lived.

Modern scholars ascribe to Martial the authorship of approximately 1556 compositions, most of which fit in with the definitions of the epigram already given. However, these poems show the greatest variety in regard to length. Three of them (II, 73, VII, 98 and VIII, 19) consist of single lines, while 616, or about two-fifths of the total number, are couplets. But many of his epigrams are very long, 32 being between 20-30 lines, four between 31-40, one (I, 49) is 42 lines and the longest (III, 58) consists of 51 lines. It is obvious that some of the longer poems included in the latter have little resemblance to the bee-shaped body described above.

The same variety is found in the content of Martial's compositions. Some of these are flattering tributes addressed to Domitian with plenty of honey but without the sting. Between two hundred and fifty and three hundred epigrams rival Catullus in wantonness which the poet tries to excuse by his oft-quoted remark: "*Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.*" The great majority of these possess what we now call epigrammatic quality and the same is true of the deft attacks on hypocrisy and the satirical thrusts at the lawyers, barbers, plagiarists, orators, parasites and the countless others that Martial held up to ridicule. The compositions describing the baths, arena, theatres and other phases of Roman life; the epitaphs addressed to the dead and the words of sympathy directed to their families, and serious compositions of a contemplative character are far removed in spirit from what we generally associate with the epigram.

Although it is true that Martial was not widely read during the Middle Ages, his name was not wholly forgotten. He is frequently mentioned by the learned encyclopedist, Isidore of Seville, and there is evidence that his epigrams were known during these centuries and even imitated occasionally in Latin compositions, but his vogue in post-Roman times began with the more critical period which we call the Renaissance, when beauty of form came to be regarded as a virtue in itself. The *editio princeps* of the epigrams, which appeared about the year 1471, was followed by many reimpressions and revisions. Some measure of their popularity is shown by the fact that more than forty editions appeared before 1600. Bishop Perotti's commentary on the *Liber De Spectaculis* and the first book of epigrams, published at Venice in 1489, occupies no less than a thousand folio pages.¹ Certain Latin poets of the day, notably Cardinal Bembo, imitated him in Latin verse, and before long Martial's position as the greatest epigrammatist became generally recognized.

However, before discussing briefly the development of the neo-Latin epigram, mention should be made of the fourth century poet, Ausonius, whose epigrams, together with his other verse, were first printed at Venice in 1472. While his compositions are often trivial, he was admired for his skill as a versifier and for his neatly pointed phrases, and his epigrams were frequently imitated in Latin and translated into the vernacular tongues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With respect to Spain, Menéndez y Pelayo has already called attention to the extent of his influence,² and further evidence of this will be given in the course of the present study.

Another important source of inspiration was the Greek epigram, samples of which were known and sometimes imitated by Martial and Ausonius. These poems span the period from the Persian Wars (fifth century B. C.) to almost the downfall of Constantinople in 1453. In the course of time, collections of these epigrams were compiled which were to form what we now call the

¹ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 1906, Vol. II, p. 17.

² *Bibliografía hispanolatina clásica*, Madrid, 1902, pp. 153-198.

Greek Anthology, consisting of more than four thousand poems representing the work of more than three hundred poets. The earliest of these collections was compiled by Meleager about 60 B. C. Probably the finest group of all is that of Cephalas, made during the tenth century, which unfortunately disappeared and was not discovered again for seven hundred years. The only collection known to Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was that of Planudes, made during the fourteenth century. An important group of these Greek epigrams was printed at Florence in 1494 and soon thereafter was translated into Latin and imitated in the vernacular tongues.

These Greek epigrams together with those of Martial and Ausonius served as models for the enormous number of neo-Latin poets that flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Being servile imitators they generally lacked originality and overburdened their poems with erudition and neatness of phrase. Nevertheless, the epigrams of these great scholars and humanists became very popular and spread rapidly among their contemporaries. Thus they did an important work in reviving the classical epigram and making it known to the people. Since it is impossible to go into details concerning their work and influence, only a few distinguished writers will be mentioned here. In Italy, there were Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), one of the leaders of the Academy at Naples, remembered chiefly for his elegies and lyrics, Angelo Ambrogini (1454-1494) called Poliziano from his birthplace, one of the most noted Greek and Latin scholars of his day, who specialized in shorter poems, and Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), a better epigrammatist than the other two, who directed many of his witty and stinging epigrams against the Borgias, but his fame rests chiefly upon the pastoral novel *Arcadia*. In Spain, one of the most important of these epigrammatists was the Valencian Jaime Falcó (1522-1594), a noted Latin poet and a distinguished mathematician, whose verse was published in Madrid six years after his death, and whose influence will be pointed out from time to time in this work.

In considering Spanish epigrams, we have attempted to exclude both Anacreontic verse and compositions that are

primarily satirical in character, since these do not seem to fall within the limits of the definition of the epigram given above. Anacreontic verse is more limited in subject matter than the epigram, for it is chiefly concerned with extolling "wine, women and song." Furthermore, Anacreontic verse is descriptive and lyrical, while the epigram is usually critical in nature, with the "pointed sting" in the ending. It is more difficult to delimit sharply the epigram from satirical verse, since the subject matter of both is often similar. The test of form, therefore, seems the only valid one to apply, and we freely confess that in many cases the classification must be largely based on subjective grounds. Epigram and satire are confused by an epigrammatist as distinguished as John Owen:

Nil aliud satyrae quam sunt epigrammata longa;
Est praeter satyram nil epigramma brevem.
Nil satyrae, si non sapiant epigrammata, pungunt;
Ni satyram sapiat, nil epigramma juvat;

which was translated by the indefatigable epigrammatist, Francisco de la Torre as:

La sátira sutil no es otra cosa
Que epigrama espaciosa;
Ni la breve epigrama
Otra cosa que sátira se llama.
La sátira que aguda se publica,
Si a epigrama no sabe, nada pica;
Y la epigrama airosa y ajustada,
Si a sátira no sabe, sabe nada.³

Another difficulty that presents itself in the study of the epigram derived from classical sources lies in the fact that the descendants of the mediaeval quips, witty answers, proverbs, and the like showed vigorous vitality in Spain as in other countries of Europe. It is true that a classical epigram is found

³ *Agudezas de Juan Owen*, traducidas por Francisco de la Torre, Madrid, 1674, Vol. I, pp. 239-240.

in the *Primera crónica general*,⁴ but this is an isolated example for, so far as is known, the classical epigram was not imitated in Spain until the sixteenth century.

However, in mediaeval Spanish literature a considerable number of compositions might be mentioned to which critics have sometimes given the name of epigram. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, for example, speaks of the *Proverbios morales* of Rabbi Santob (middle of the fourteenth century) as the first examples of the verse epigram in Spanish. Without quibbling as to the use of the term epigram in this connection, for that depends upon the breadth of one's definition, it is evident that these dogmatizing and moralizing compositions have far more in common with the *Disticha Catonis*, so dear to the Middle Ages, than with the classical or the modern epigram. The same criticism applies to this classification for the *Proverbios* of the Marqués de Santillana.

Among the poets of the fifteenth century Antón de Montoro (1404?-1480), a converted Jew, dubbed from his trade and place of birth, "el Ropero de Córdoba," approximates more closely than any other the spirit of Martial. Endowed with a keen sense of humor, he could laugh at himself as lustily as he could heap ridicule upon others. Addressing on one occasion the Count of Cabra, who had failed to give him a present, he wrote:

⁴ Menéndez Pidal's edition, 1906, (*Nueva Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. V, p. 94). After a long description of the exploits of Julius Caesar, we read: "E demas sabie bien uersificar, et uersificaua muy fremoso et much ayna; ca segund cuentan las estorias el fizo aquestos viessos en andando por Espanna:

Trabs puer astricto glacie dum ludit in Ebro,
Frigore concretas pondere rupit aquas,
Dumque ime partes rapido traerentur ab amne,
Percussit tenerum lubrica testa caput.
Orba quod inuentum mater dum conderet urna,
hoc peperit flammis, cetera, dixit, aquis."

The text is followed by a brief paraphrase. This epigram is found with many variants from the above, in Riese's *Anthologia Latina* (No. 709) with the title *De puero glacie perempto*, and has been ascribed to both Germanicus Caesar and Julius Caesar. About three hundred years later it was translated in sonnet form by the Sevillian poet, Gutierre de Cetina (Sonnet CCXX, in the edition of Hazañas y La Rúa, Vol. I, p. 193, Sevilla, 1895. See *The Sources of the Poetry of Gutierre de Cetina* by A. M. Withers, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 21). Baltasar Gracián quotes the Latin epigram in the first Discurso of the *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, Madrid, 1773 edition, p. 12.

Pues no cresce mi caudal
 el trovar, nin da más puja,
 adorámoste, dedal,
 gracias fagamos, aguja.⁵

Of one who was over-fond of wine he asked the following question:

Vos en quien todo bien cabe,
 do la discreción trasunta;
 no vos pese mi pregunta,
 pues quien más anda más sabe.
 Declaradme por compás
 una dubda que no sé:
 ¿Cuál querríades vos más
 que se perdiese la fe
 o la planta de Noé?⁶

To an invitation to take part in a cane-tourney, he replied:

¿No jugais, buen caballero?
 —Días ha que no jugué;
 si querés saber por qué,
 porque so muy lastimero.
 Todo lo tengo y no feo,
 que no me falta pedazo,
 salvo caballo y arreo,
 piernas, corazón y brazo.⁷

Many of the compositions of Antón de Montoro are merely witty, and should be classified as "poesías festivas o jocosas," but, on the other hand, a considerable number lead up to a real epigrammatic point, and may well be compared with Martial's epigrams as was suggested on one occasion by Lope de Vega.⁸

An examination of the larger collections of fifteenth-century

⁵ Cotarelo y Mori, *El Cancionero de Antón de Montoro*, Madrid, 1900, No. CXXXV.

⁶ *Idem*, No. CXXXVI.

⁷ *Idem*, No. LXXXII.

⁸ *Introducción a la Justa poética de San Isidro*, Obras sueltas, Madrid, 1776-79, Vol. XI, p. 356.

Spanish poetry such as the *Cancionero de Baena*, *Cancionero de Stúñiga* and *Cancionero de Hernando del Castillo* shows a dearth of epigrammatic material. Satirical compositions, more pungent and more deftly turned, are found in greater quantity in the *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa*,⁹ but few of these meet the definition of the classical epigram given above. Compositions of this sort continued to be written throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dubbed "poesías festivas" and "poesías jocosas" they frequently show the influence of the classical epigram in their form, and it is therefore often difficult to determine their true classification.

⁹ Valencia, 1519. Edited by L. de Usóz y Río, Madrid, 1841.

I

MARTIAL'S INFLUENCE ON SPANISH LITERATURE DURING THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The story of Martial's influence upon Spanish literature begins with an adaptation by Garcilaso de la Vega (1501?-1536). The latter owes his place as "príncipe de la poesía castellana" to his lyrical verse, and especially to the compositions in which, with vibrant emotion tempered by classical serenity, he poured out his passion for Isabel Freyre. Wit and satire are alike absent in the verse of this aristocratic lover who found inspiration, when he turned to Latin poetry, in reading Vergil, Ovid, Horace and Fracastoro. However, it has been known since the appearance of Herrera's commentary in 1580 that the following sonnet (XXIX) is adapted from Martial:

Passando el mar Leandro el animoso,
 en amoroso fuego todo ardiendo;
 esforzó el viento, i fuese embraveciendo
 el agua con un impetu furioso.
 Vencido del trabajo pressuroso,
 contrastar a las ondas no pudiendo,
 i mas del bien, qu'alli perdia muriendo,
 que de su propia muerte congoxoso,
 Como pudo esforzó su boz cansada,
 i a las ondas habló desta manera:
 (mas nunca fué la boz dellas oída):
 "Ondas, pues no s'excusa que yo muera;
 dexadm'allá llegar, i a la tornada
 vuestro furor executá en mi vida."¹

Martial's epigram (De Spectaculis, XXVB) is as follows:

¹*Obras de Garcilasso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera*, Sevilla, 1580, pp. 198-99.

Cum peteret dulces audax Leandros amores
 et fessus tumidis iam premeretur aquis,
 sic miser instantes adfatus dicitur undas:
 "Parcite dum propero, mergite cum redeo."

The reason for his choice of this material for a sonnet is readily explained. About 1495 the Greek poem of Musæus on Hero and Leander was published at Venice with a Latin translation, and attracted great attention. Musæus was the first Greek author to be printed in Spain (about 1514), and while Garcilaso cannot have been acquainted with Bernardo Tasso's *Favola di Leandro ed Ero* which was not published until the year following the Spanish poet's death, and still less with Boscán's *Historia de Leandro y Hero*,² which was written later, it seems clear that Garcilaso was attracted by Martial's compact and graceful description of the culminating moment in the lives of two famous lovers of antiquity who were already familiar to all readers of Ovid, and who had acquired a new interest through the publication of the poem by Musæus.

It is difficult to determine to what extent Garcilaso's well turned sonnet is responsible for the extraordinary popularity of the Hero and Leander story in the Iberian peninsula, but its vitality may be measured by the fact that Menéndez y Pelayo cites no less than forty-seven compositions subsequent to Garcilaso dealing with this theme in Spain and Portugal before the eighteenth century.³ Among these are plays, *fábulas* and *romances*, which have nothing in common with Garcilaso's sonnet except the subject, but on the other hand, we find a large number of compositions which include the epigrammatic turn in the ending that characterizes both the poems of Martial and Garcilaso.

Cetina's sonnet (CXXIV) in which "it seems he tried to rival Garcilaso," as Fernando de Herrera said, is a close paraphrase of Martial, or perhaps a translation of one of the many

² *Las obras de Juan Boscán*, ed. William I. Knapp, Madrid, 1877, pp. 289-376.

³ *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, 1890-1908, Vol. XIII, pp. 361-376.

Italian versions of the same. His sonnet (XLVII) must be regarded as a continuation of the one mentioned above. Herrera also mentions as an imitation of Martial a sonnet by Sâ de Miranda,⁴ and he himself essayed a translation which he published in his *Anotaciones a Garcilaso*:

Quando el osado Leandro,
olvidado de temor,
iva por el mar estrecho
a gozar su dulce amor;
cansado i puesto en peligro
del mar lleno de furor,
ya que las hinchadas aguas
causavan su perdición;
a las ondas que lo siguen
dixo assí el triste amador
(como si jamás las ondas
se muevan a compasión);
perdonadme mientra llego,
a do dexe 'l coraçón,
i mostrad en mí a la buelta
vuestro impetu i furor.⁵

Menéndez y Pelayo states that Martial's epigram was also paraphrased in sonnet form by other Spanish poets of about the middle of the sixteenth century, such as Don Juan Coloma,⁶ Montemayor, Diego Ramírez Pagán and Hernando de Acuña, and two versions occur in the edition of 1557 of the *Cancionero General*. Garcilaso's sonnet was glossed in octaves by the notable poet Francisco de Aldana. Camoens, Pedro de Padilla, Don Juan de Arguijo, Juan de Valdés y Meléndez, Doña Hipólita de Narváez, the Marquis of Alenquer, Lope de Vega, Francisco López de Zárate, Tomás Tamayo de Vargas and Pedro Soto de Rojas translated, or exercised their ingenuity to give a new turn to Martial's epigram. Burlesque versions of the story, which had become over-familiar, were written by Mateo Vázquez

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 361-2.

⁵ *Obras de Garcilasso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera*, Sevilla, 1580, pp. 201-2.

⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 362-64.

de Leca, Góngora and Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. The influence of Vergil and Musæus, as well as of Martial, is seen in Quevedo's sonnet on the same subject.⁷

No other definite example of the influence of Martial is found in Garcilaso, but there are a few lines that the poet may have derived from the great epigrammatist.⁸

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), a contemporary of Garcilaso, illustrates more completely than any Spaniard of his time the interest of gentlemen in affairs of State, scholarship and letters. A representative of Charles V at the Council of Trent and a diplomat who held with distinction the post of ambassador at Venice and at Rome for many years, he was also a competent Latinist and an enthusiastic collector of Greek manuscripts which, in the course of time, were to find their way to safekeeping in the Escorial Library. With all his multifarious duties, he wrote a very considerable amount of verse which circulated freely in manuscript copies during his lifetime, but was not printed until 1610.

While his amatory compositions are entitled to high rank, his muse was critical rather than lyrical. His inspiration appears to be forced when he dons Petrarch's mantle, but he expresses his own vigorous personality in some of the epistles addressed to intimate friends in which, with restrained gayety that re-

⁷ The whole sonnet is found in *El Parnaso español, Monte en dos cumbres dividido*, edited by González de Salas, Madrid, 1648, p. 200.

⁸ In the commentary to his edition of Garcilaso, published in 1581, Francisco Sánchez el Brocense suggested that in the description of Charles V at the battle of Ratisbon in the second Eclogue, lines 1521-1525, Garcilaso recalled the last two verses of the third epigram of the Spectacles. The resemblance is slight. El Brocense included in his edition coplas of epigrammatic character derived from Ovid's *Heroides* and beginning

Pues este nombre perdi,
Dido, muger de Sicheo.

Almost the same verses ascribed to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza occur in several manuscripts and their authorship is doubtful. (See H. Keniston, *Garcilaso de la Vega, a critical study of his life and works*, New York, 1922, p. 185.) Professor Keniston has shown that the Latin epigram addressed to Hernando de Acuña often included with the works of Garcilaso since the edition of Tamayo de Vargas (1622) must have been written long after Garcilaso's death, and that it is probably the work of the poet's son who bore the same name.

calls Horace of the *Satires*, he pictures "l'ambassadeur en pantoufles," exposed to importunate callers and dependent upon a sovereign's whims, and making merry over the emptiness of human ambitions.

In his amatory sonnets we clearly recognize the Petrarchistic inspiration, sobered and intensified at times by his reading of Ausias March. Four of his sonnets, however, seem to have a definite epigrammatic quality. The first of these (XVI) bearing the caption: "A las armas de Aquiles, traducido del griego,"⁹ is strikingly similar to an epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (VII, 146), and also bears a close resemblance to Alciato's emblem "Aiakis tumulum lachrymis ego perluo Virtus." The following sonnet (XVII); "Al escudo de Aquiles," continues the same topic and appears to be a free translation of Alciato's emblem that begins: "Aeacidæ Hectoreo perfusum sanguine scutum."¹⁰ "Del Saladino" (XIX) and "De Anibal" (XXI) also probably have Latin sources, and are clearly epigrammatic. An analogue to the latter is found in the *Greek Anthology* (II, 148). These four compositions were probably written before the year 1549, and are included in an autograph manuscript of his works preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹¹

In addition to these, Hurtado de Mendoza wrote five epigrams of briefer compass. The first of these, "A Venus,"¹² is a graceful version of an epigram of Ausonius entitled "De Pallade volente certare armis cum Venere" (II, 64), which was exceedingly popular with the Renaissance poets. The versions of Poliziano, Ariosto and Minturno, are well known, and it presents itself quite unexpectedly in Lope de Vega's "*El remedio en la desdicha*"¹³ (lines 447-451). The second epigram, "A Laïs,"¹⁴ is also translated from Ausonius (II, 65). No source

⁹ W. I. Knapp, *Obras poéticas de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* (Colección de libros raros o curiosos, Vol. XI), Madrid, 1877, p. 12.

¹⁰ J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *Notes on the Poetry of D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XXIII, 1928, pp. 346-351.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹² W. I. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

¹³ See J. Gómez Ocerin y R. M. Tenreiro, *Una nota para el Remedio en la Desdicha de Lope (El soneto de Venus y Palas)*, *Revista de Filología española*, tomo iv, 1917, pp. 390-392.

¹⁴ W. I. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

has been indicated for the third,¹⁵ also addressed to Lais. The fifth, "A Dido," already mentioned,¹⁶ is derived from Ovid's *Heroides*. It has been frequently pointed out that the fourth epigram, "A los hijos de Pompeyo," included in the autograph manuscript already mentioned, is translated from Martial:

La Asia y la Europa encierra
 Los dos hijos de Pompeo,
 Y al padre mató en la tierra
 De Egipto el rey Tolomeo.
 El mundo todo a tropel
 Se junto a dalles cabida;
 Que para tan gran caída
 No bastó una parte dél.¹⁷

This Spanish version is almost as terse as Martial's original (V, 74):

Pompeios iuvenes Asia atque Europa, sed ipsum
 terra tegit Libyes, si tamen ulla tegit.
 quid mirum toto si spargitur orbe? iacere
 uno non poterat tanta ruina loco.

One of the poets contemporary with Hurtado de Mendoza, was the expatriate Cristóbal de Castillejo (1490?-1550), many of whose *Obras de conversación y pasatiempo* have an epigrammatic quality, but in these he appears to be following fifteenth century traditions rather than accepting Martial as a guide. One of his compositions, entitled *A un hermafrodito*, is unmistakably an epigram and goes back to a Latin poem of Matthieu de Vendôme which was frequently translated in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹⁶ See p. 20, note 8.

¹⁷ W. I. Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

¹⁸ J. P. W. Crawford, *El horóscopo del hijo del rey Alcaraz en el "Libro de buen amor," Revista de Filología española*, 1925, Vol. XII, pp. 184-190, states: "Es evidente que imitación de este epigrama es el del poeta valenciano Jaime Falcó, que empieza así:

In following the traces of Martial's influence upon Spanish letters, we now turn from the distinguished diplomat who played his part with Europe as a stage, and the cleric Castillejo, to the Sevillian Juan de Mal-Lara (1524?-1571), whose life was spent in academic circles. An itinerant scholar who studied at Seville, Salamanca, Alcalá and Barcelona, he taught Latin for many years at Seville, until death brought to a close his busy career. Intimate friends, such as Fernando de Herrera, Juan de la Cueva and Pacheco, held him in high esteem as a scholar and man of letters, and it must have been a keen disappointment to him that so few of his voluminous writings were printed. With the exception of his *In Aphthonii Progymnasmata Scholia* and *In Syntaxin Scholia* (1567), *La Philosophia vulgar: primera parte, que contiene mil refranes glosados* (1568),¹⁹ and *Recebimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la Católica Real Majestad del Rey D. Felipe N. S.* (1570), his other works remained in manuscript, and only one of these has been subsequently published. Juan de la Cueva, perhaps with Andalusian exaggeration, ascribed to him the composition of more than a thousand tragedies, but of these we know nothing with the exception of a few titles.

Alma Venus praeagnans cum jam
prope partus adesset
consuluit Parcas quid paritur foret.

Parece que esta composición alcanzó gran popularidad en España. Fué traducida en un soneto por uno de los hermanos Leonardo de Argensola; por el canónigo Salinas, en una versión publicada en la *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, de Gracián (cap. XXXIX); por Agustín de Salazar y Torres, en silva; por el padre jesuita José Morell, que la publicó en sus *Poesías selectas* (1683), y por Francisco de la Cueva. También forma parte del argumento de *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*, de Calderón de la Barca." Vendôme's Latin original is found in Riese's *Anthologia Latina*, Vol. II, No. 786.

Eugenio Mele, "Postille a tre poesie de Castillejo" (*Revista de Filología española*, Vol. XVI, 1929, pp. 60-65), adds a translation by Sebastián de Horozco (*Cancionero*, ed. by Sociedad de Bibliófilos andaluces, p. 110). Mele also claims that the Latin original is not by Vendôme but by Pulice da Custozza, basing his claim on Burmann's *Anthologia Latina* (1759), Vol. I, No. 650. He also shows that Castillejo's composition *A una dama que se decia Julia* (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XXXII, p. 121, or C. de Castillejo, *Obras*. Prólogo, edición y notas de J. Domínguez Bordona, Madrid, 1926, I, 12), is derived from a Latin poem in the Burmann collection (I, 650).

¹⁹ In the ninth Centuria, edition 1621, page 356, he mentions an event of the year 1556 and states that he was at that time engaged in the composition of this work.

Mal-Lara shared the enthusiasm of his illustrious predecessor, Hernán Núñez de Toledo, in the gathering of popular proverbs, but he went a step further in his exceedingly diverting *Filosofía vulgar* in subjecting them to the kind of commentary which in those days was reserved for classical authors. Señor Américo Castro²⁰ has shown conclusively the influence of the *Adagia*²¹ of the distinguished Dutch humanist Erasmus, but adds that the *Preámbulos* of the *Filosofía vulgar* "contienen, pues, ampli-ficaciones y detalles que no están en Erasmo. Y por encima de todo, Mal Lara tiene razón en revindicar la originalidad de su trabajo, ya que Erasmo trata de adagios latinos y griegos y él de españoles, los cuales ha reunido penosamente y les ha aplicado su observación personal. Lo que es de Erasmo es la doctrina acerca de los refranes y su valor; sin aquél no existiría este libro, ni Mal Lara habría comentado sus refranes como lo hizo, reflejando a cada paso, en el espíritu y en muchos detalles, la influencia del sabio holandés."²² In the *Filosofía* Mal-Lara explains the meaning of a thousand *refranes*, and draws upon the wealth of his knowledge of Latin and Greek literature for apt illustrations. Of particular interest to us is the fact that he not only mentions Martial many times, but translates thirty-eight epigrams with thirty-nine versions, thus making the Roman poet familiar to readers unacquainted with Latin.

Commenting upon the saying, "Anuncia, que el Dio dará," he mentions Martial's epigram of the man who pretended to have a serious case of gout, and later was afflicted with the disease (VII, 39), and he translates:

Celio, que mas sufrir ya no podia
el andar tras señores acosado,
tras aquel beso manos leuantado
desde el Alua a mil partes cada dia.
Aquella sugecion que lo abatia,

²⁰ Juan de Mal-Lara y su "Filosofía Vulgar", *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. III, Madrid, 1925, pp. 563-592.

²¹ *Adagia, Erasmi Roterdami, Chiliades tres, ac centuriae fere totidem*, Venetiis, 1508.

²² Américo Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

aquel estar en pie, y aun destocado,
 la entonacion del otro, y el estado,
 tener gota en los pies falsa fingia.
 Y queriendo hazer fuesse creydo,
 liauase los pies sanos con vendas,
 daua un pasito coxo y trabajoso,
 Quanto puede el cuydado y el sentido
 del dolor: por quitarse de contiendas,
 Celio quedó de veras mas gotoso.²³

In discussing "Assi te dé Dios vida, que es oracion partida," he recalls the questioning of the importunate Ponticus (Martial, V, 63):

¿Que sientes de mis libros, Marco amigo?
 Pontico, me preguntas cada dia,
 admirome y espantome, y aun digo,
 que mas perfecta cosa, ni ay, ni auia.
 El mas sabio es de aquesto buen testigo:
 ¿esto sientes? me dizes a porfia:
 Assi te haga Dios bien, y te mantenga
 el Cesar: antes esso por ti venga.²⁴

He illustrates the proverb, "Quando no tenia, dauate, aora que tengo, no te daré: ruega a Dios, que no tenga, porque te dé," by telling of Scaevola who was poorer with a fortune than without (Martial, I, 103):

Si Dios me diesse un cuento de hazienda,
 Dezias, sin ser armado cauallero;
 ¿O como viuire? ¿Que plazentero?
 Dios te lo concedio, quita contienda.
 Agora no ay, amigo, quien te entienda,
 Capa y sayo peor que de primero,
 Remendado el çapato de otro cuero.
 Beues haloque, zupia, ved que enmienda,
 De un manjar en dos cenas hazes mesa,
 Guardas para otro dia la ensalada,

²³ Juan de Mal-Lara, *La Filosofía vulgar*, 1621 edition, p. 126-126v.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Hazes de una azeytuna fundamento.
 Engañoso ¿del don de Dios te pesa?
 Vamos do la justicia sea mirada.
 O viue, o buelue a Dios; que le dio el cuento.²⁵

To illustrate the same proverb, he again translates from Martial (I, 99):

Aun no tenias dos cuentos, o Caleno,
 Y eras tan liberal, tan dadiuoso,
 Tan prodigo, tan franco, de manera
 Que todos tus amigos desseauan
 Que tuuiesses diez cuentos: nuestros ruegos
 Fueron de Dios oydos (segun pienso);
 Dentro de siete meses se murieron
 Quatro, que lo dexaron: desde entonces,
 Como si no heredaras cosa alguna,
 Mas antes te robaron los diez cuentos,
 Has baxado, mesquino, a tanta hambre
 Que los grandes banquetes, mas costosos,
 Que una vez aparejas de entreaño,
 Con cien marauedis son concertados,
 Y siete amigos tuyos de los viejos
 Costamos a esta cuenta tres reales,
 ¿Que pediremos digno de tus obras?
 Pidamos que un millon tengas, Caleno,
 Y si lo tienes, tu mueres de hambre.²⁶

In speaking of those who sell and recite the verses of other persons, he recalls that the same practice existed in Martial's time and translates epigram I, 29:

El libro que recitas, Fidentino,
 Mio es, mas siendo assi mal recitado,
 Tuyo comiença a ser, y de ti digno.²⁷

The quotation from Martial (VIII, 60) is particularly apt to illustrate the proverb "Baxe la nouia la cabeça, y cabrá por la puerta de la Iglesia":

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155v.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Allegar al Colosso, bien pudieras,
 Viniendo ygual con el, hasta la cumbre,
 Si pie y medio menor, o Claudia, fueras.²⁸

Equally apt is his choice of Martial's epigram (VIII, 35) to explain the meaning of "Casaron a Pedro con Marihuela, si ruyn es el, ruyn es ella":

Siendo tan semejantes en la vida,
 Do mala es la muger, malo el marido,
 Y en esto no ay ruyn que ya os ygual,
 Espantome en extremo de vosotros,
 No estar ambos conformes, siendo yguales.²⁹

In discussing the disadvantages of marrying a wealthy woman, he quotes Martial (VIII, 12):

¿Preguntas porque no quiero casarme
 Con una muger rica? Yo no quiero
 Dexar de ser el hombre, y entregarme
 Hecho muger a un yugo torpe y fiero,
 A su insufrible mando sugetarme,
 Que ella hable al principio, yo postrero.
 La muger sea sugeta a su marido;
 De otra arte ser yguales no han podido.³⁰

Disparity of age suggests two epigrams of Martial (IX, 5)³¹ and (X, 8)³² which he translates. The *refrán* "Con bestia vieja, ni te cases, ni te alhajes," also recalls to him Martial's I, 10 which he renders delightfully:

Gemello con gran priessa a Maronilla
 Le pide casamiento y lo dessea;
 Porfia, ruega y anda, es marauilla
 El negocio que trae, porque sea;
 ¿Que tan hermosa es para seguilla?
 Antes no ay en el pueblo otra mas fea,
 ¿Pues que ama? ¿Que quiere? Enamórose,
 ¿Porque? ¿no lo sabemos? Porque tosse.³³

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 174v.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 177v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180v.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 180v.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Martial's conciseness is admirably reproduced in the translation of the epigram on the snobbish Gellia (V, 17) who refused senators but finally married a *cistifer*:

Mientras que en tus abuelos y sus nombres
 Recuentas el blason de donde vienes,
 Los hidalgos parecen baxos hombres,
 Sube la entonacion graue que tienes;
 En tanto que les miras sus renombres,
 Hasta que sean illustres te detienes,
 Creciendote estas temas y este brio,
 Vienes Gellia a casar con un judio.³⁴

Man's longing for forbidden fruit is wittily described in the following epigram translated from Martial (III,70):

Marido eras de Aufidia, tu, Ceruino,
 Y della eres agora enamorado,
 Y el que solia seguir este camino,
 Con ella por tu falta se ha casado:
 ¿Dime porque te agrada en dessatino
 La agena, y siendo tuya te ha enfadado?
 ¿No tienes la seguridad por buena?
 ¿Ni te agrada el amor que no da pena?³⁵

Following up the same argument, he translates the last two lines of VI, 71:

Aflige Thelesina y quema agora
 A su primer señor, que por esclaua
 La vendió, ya la compra por señora.³⁶

The proverb "De buenos, y de mejores, a mi ^Thija ^Jvengan demandadores" suggests to him Martial's VI, 8:

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181v. In translating *cistifer*, Mal-Lara accepts the meaning of Jew.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Quatro Tribunos nobles, dos Pretores,
 Siete Abogados diestros en derecho,
 Y diez Poetas, lindos trovadores,
 A un viejo se llegaron muy de hecho,
 De la hija gentil demandadores,
 Y de todos sintio no auer prouecho;
 A un pregonero dio su hija el viejo.
 Di Seuero, ¿es de bobo este consejo?²⁷

Martial's epigram on the chaste Arria (I, 13) is not inappropriate to illustrate the *refrán*, "En la vida no me quisiste, en la muerte me plañiste,"

Arria, que en castidad era nombrada,
 Queriendo dar a Peto, su marido,
 Por exemplo eterno, aquella espada
 Que en sangre de su pecho auia teñido,
 Dize: Si alguna fe viue guardada,
 Señor, no duele auerme yo herido,
 Solo tengo un dolor de la herida,
 Que harás en tu cuerpo de mi vida.²⁸

To illustrate the proverb "La que no bayla, de la boda se salga," Mal-Lara translated Martial's epigram at the end of the introduction to book I:

Sabiendo bien el dulce sacrificio
 De la burlona Flora juego y fiesta,
 La licencia del vulgo dissoluto,
 A Seuero Caton, ¿a que veniste
 Al teatro y lugar do se hazia?
 Di, ¿entraste no mas para salirte?²⁹

The sad plight of Aelia who had coughed out her four teeth (I, 19) is amusingly translated as follows:

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Quatro dientes, no mas, Elia tenias,
 Si me acuerdo, y los dõs de una tos fueron,
 Y otros dos caminaron en porfias,
 De otra segunda tos que se cayeron.
 Tosser puedes sin miedo noches, dias,
 Desque los quatro dientes se huyeron,
 Tosse, y tosse, que ya en tu boca entera
 No tiene que hazer la tos tercera.⁴⁰

The proverb "No hay olla tan fea, que no halle su cobertera" brings to the commentator's mind Martial's description of the slave of Severus (VII, 38):

Tamaño y tal esclauo es Polyfemo,
 Que tomará el Cyclope mismo espanto
 De verlo de Gigantes un extremo,
 Pues Scyla no es menor que él, otro tanto
 De grande, que yo cierto verla temo,
 Si se le pone cerca al otro canto;
 Seuero, si los casas, sin trabajo
 Será el uno del otro un espantajo.⁴¹

The proverb "A falta de moça buena es Aldonça," is illustrated by the following tremendous portrait of the hideous Aldonza, which is an imitation of III, 93:

Teneis, señora Aldonça, tres treynta años,
 Tres cabellos no mas, y solo un diente,
 Los pechos de cigarra propiamente,
 En que ay telas de arañas y de arañõs.
 En vuestras sayas, tocas y otros paños
 No ay tantas rugas como en vuestra frente;
 La boca es desgarrada, y tan valiente
 Que los puertos de mar no son tamaños.
 En cantar pareceys mosquito o rana,
 La çanca es de hormiga y de finado,
 La vista es de lechuga a la mañana.
 Oleys un cierto olor de desposado
 De cabra; es vuestra espalda tan galana

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

Como de pato flaco y bien pelado.
Este es vuestro traslado,
De todo quanto oys no os falta cosa;
¿Que os falta, pues dezí, para hermosa?⁴²

Martial's verses on Chloe and her many husbands (IX, 15) were thus translated by Mal-Lara:

Donde sus siete maridos
Cloe tiene sepultados,
Para mostrar quan amados
Le fueron y quan queridos,
Ha mandado alli escriuir
Que ella les dió sepultura,
Y escriuió la verdad pura,
Que ella los hizo morir.⁴³

and also elaborated in another version:

Donde enterró siete maridos Clara,
Escriuió que ella hizo aquel sepulcro;
¿Que cosa se podrá escriuir mas clara?⁴⁴

In discussing the ever-interesting topic of the relative merits of stout and thin women, he quotes Martial (XI, 100) with real verve:

No quiero tan sutil la enamorada,
Que en mi anillo su braço entre holgado,
Ni que con su rodilla dé picada,
Con la cadera rape el medio lado.
En su espalda una sierra esta afilada,
Ni tampoco la quiero, mal pecado,
Que tenga mil arrobas de gordura;
Carne quiero comer, que no grossura.⁴⁵

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 230v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 230v.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

He also translates the following epigram of Martial (XI, 101) on the same subject:

Siendo tan flaca, Thais, tu enamorada,
¿Como pudiste, di, Filando, verla?
Tu puedes ver quizá lo que no es nada.⁴⁶

The rather enigmatical proverb "Si esta mato tras que ando, tres me faltan para quatro" is explained by Martial's epigram (VIII, 43) on the varied matrimonial experiences of Fabius and Chrestilla:

Siempre Fabio y Chrestila estan reñidos;
Llorando sus primeros casamientos,
El sus mugeres, y ella sus maridos,
Fatigan sin cessar los monumentos.
La vitoria mas clara en los ruydos
(Donde entrambos se quexan descontentos)
Es que la muerte a entrambos desbarate,
Y juntos de una vez los arrebate.⁴⁷

Commenting on the *refrán* "Tres terroços y una estera el axuarde la Frontera," he quotes Martial (XI, 32) to the effect that poverty and having nothing at all are not synonymous:

Ni ropa, ni hogar, ni cama andada
De chinches, ni de enea alguna estera,
Ni viejo o moço, ni aun niño siquiera,
Ni tienes a quien llames tu criada.
Ni cerradura, o llaue al cinto atada,
Ni perrilla que ladre a los de fuera,
Ni jarro, plato o taça, aunque no entera,
Y no pagas la camara alquilada.
Que te llamen el Nestor tu desseas,
Y parecer un pobre a lo fingido,
Por ser uno del pueblo con nobleza.
Mientes, y en vana honra lisongear
A tu alma; di, Nestor, ¿no has sentido.
Que esse no tener nada no es pobreza?⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 231v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 243v-244.

"Aunque mi suegro sea bueno, no quiero perro con conerro" is illustrated by a sonnet translation of Martial's epigram (V, 52) on the chattering Postumus:

Postumo, bien me acuerdo quanto has hecho
 Por mi, quanto mas dado porque callo.
 ¿Y tu no cessas siempre de contallo?
 ¿Es negocio de burla, y contrahecho?
 Quantas vezes yo cuento lo bien hecho
 A todos quantos puedo pregonallo,
 Da bozes luego uno, descuchallo
 Tantas vezes al otro, estoy deshecho.
 No hazen cierto bien dos una cosa,
 Uno si quieres basta a esta obra,
 Yo hablaré, tu calla, me parece.
 Creeme, aunque tu obra sea famosa,
 Y grandes las mercedes, con çoçobra
 (Con hablar el autor) todo perece.⁴⁹

The next example is a very apt rendering of Martial's IX, 82 as an illustration to the proverb "A padre ganador hijo despendedor, o a padre guardador hijo gastador":

Ha el Astrologo bien adiuinado,
 Que morirás muy presto, o luego, Cinna,
 Y no miente en aquesto, que adiuina,
 Pues que tan verdadero lo has sacado.
 Porque tu de un temor arrebatado
 Que no te quede oro o plata fina
 Despues que mueras, dentro en tu cozina
 La herencia de tu padre has agotado.
 ¿Que bienes, que a ocho cuentos allegauan?
 Que tragar, que beuer, tan a menudo
 Que aun no en un año lo consumió un fuego.
 Los dias de tu vida se acortaron,
 Quedas de todo bien pobre y desnudo,
 Dime, Cinna, ¿no es esto morir luego?⁵⁰

Mal-Lara illustrates admirably the proverb "Allá va Maria,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 260v

con quanto auia" by the following translation from Martial (II, 57):

Este que veis andar tan entonado,
 Que entre unos y otros hiende, y los trompilla,
 Y nunca le vereys ropa senzilla,
 Siempre de rica purpura adornado.
 Ni Codro, el que anda en ropas muy medrado,
 Ni se le yguala Publio el de mi villa,
 Y se haze traer en nueva silla,
 Cintas y borlas de uno y otro lado.
 Lleua de acá y de allá gran aparato
 De hombres bien peynados, que si cierto,
 Pues veislo alli, verguença he dezillo.
 Yendo a cenar agora muy hambriento,
 No auiendo en casa que lleuasse el gato,
 Empeñó en un real un triste anillo.⁵¹

In describing the inconvenience of being invited to a dinner which is eaten only by the host, he cites Martial (III, 60):

Combidasme a una cena tan barata,
 Que es verguença dezillo, mas tu cenas
 Tan bien, que pura inuidia me maltrata
 De ver essas quixadas tan rellenas;
 ¿Combidasme a la inuidia, que me mata,
 O a que cene contigo buenas cenas?⁵²

He translates in *versos sueltos* Martial's lines (V, 39) on Charinus who made his will frequently in order to receive gifts from those who hoped to be named his heirs:

A ti, que treynta vezes en el año
 Sellas los testamentos, o Carino,
 Embie las hojaldres enmeladas
 Con miel de la mejor, que sale de Hybla.
 Desfallecido he, misericordia
 Ten, Carino, de mi, o mas pocas vezes
 Sella tu testamento, o haz aquello

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 318v.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 323v.

D'una vez si te plaz prestamente
 Lo que tu tos continua va mintiendo.
 Sacudido he bolsico y çurroncillo,
 Y aunque fuera mas rico yo que Cresso,
 Mas pobre que Iro fuera, mi Carino,
 Si comieras de hauas tantas vezes
 Quantas de los regalos que demandas.⁵³

À propos of Spanish *taita* and Latin *tata* used by children, he quotes Martial (I, 100), beginning "Mammas atque tatas habet Afra":

Tiene Afra padre y madre, y aun abuelos,
 Pero si bien miramos a sus años,
 Abuela es de sus rebisabuelos.⁵⁴

Mal-Lara shared Martial's aversion for the man of low birth who could rise to high state without grammar and rhetoric, and translated his epigram on the wealthy cobbler (IX, 73), apologizing for being unable to give to his version the grace and wit of the original:

Badana y Cordouan tirar solias
 Con tus dientes, y mas lo muy curtido,
 Del corambre curado, ya podrido,
 Zapatero, tu oficio en fin hazias.
 Heredas a un señor de muchos dias,
 Viñas, casas, a donde aun no has tenido
 Antes un palaciete denegrido,
 Gozas de pages, moços, fantasias.
 El loco de mi padre en las escuelas,
 Me mandó que aprendiesse (a que me mato)
 Retorica y Gramatica, que os quiero.
 Musa, quiebra las flautas, no me muelas,
 Desgarra mis libretes si el çapato
 Puede dar tanta renta a un çapatero.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 327v.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 329v.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

The Spanish equivalent of "Nothing succeeds like success" is at least as old as Martial whose epigram (V, 81) is thus rendered:

Millan, jamas saldras de tu pobreza,
Si eres pobre, que en este nuestro tiempo
No dan sino a los ricos la riqueza.⁵⁶

The proverb "Quien tiene hijos y cuejas, nunca le faltan quexas" appropriately suggests to Mal-Lara Martial's ironical epigram on the envious Charinus (VIII, 61):

De embidia se deshaze y enloqueze
Carino, y llora y busca un alta rama
Por se colgar, no en ver que tiene fama
Mi nombre en todo el mundo y se ennobleze,
Ni en ver que en cedro cada qual guarnece
Mi libro, y con sus galas, y que lo ama
Qualquier nacion estraña do se llama
Roma triunfal señora y se obedece;
Por una heredad sola que he medrado,
Y porque me ve en mula no alquilada,
Tiene embidia, y me ofenden sus maldades,
¿Que maldicion a este hombre desdichado
Le echaré por embidia tan maluada,
Sino que tenga mulas y heredades?⁵⁷

"Anda el majadero de otero en otero, y viene a quebrar en el hombre bueno" is explained by referring to Martial's epigram (XII, 51):

¿De que estás, Aulo, espantado,
Que Fabulo passe mal .
Muchas vezes engañado?
Auemoslo ya notado,
Siempre el buen hombre es boçal.⁵⁸

He cites Martial's epigram (IV,62) à propos of the proverb "Algo se ha de hazer para blanca ser," and the inveterate desire of brunettes to appear as blondes:

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 343v.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 344v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 346v.

Dexada Roma, a Tybur se ha mudado
 La muy negra Lycoris, que ha creydo
 Que todo quanto en Tybur se ha hallado,
 Luego de blanca tez era vestido.⁵⁹

He also translates VII, 13 which again describes the trip of Lycoris to Tivoli for the sake of her complexion, with its deplorable results:

En tanto que Lycoris la morena
 Oyó dezir como el viejo colmillo
 De marfil, dentro en Tybur, sin gran pena
 Se emblanquecia, luego en solo oyllo
 A Tybur se passó, do en hora buena
 Desseaua a su negro despedillo;
 ¿O que valio del Tybur la marea,
 Que en poco tiempo buelue negra y fea?⁶⁰

Mal-Lara tells us that in the following sonnet he combined Martial's famous epigram on Porcia (I, 42) with a composition of Vittoria Colonna on the death of her husband, Fernando de Avalos:

Al fin, sabiendo el fin de su marido,
 Porcia, para morir aparejada,
 La mano de un blandon ardiendo armada,
 Sacó del hondo pecho un gran gemido.
 No viuiré sin ti, ya mi bien ydo,
 Mi Bruto, porque en mi sin ti soy nada,
 Y luego sin parar apresurada,
 Las brasas con el fuego se ha beuido.
 Vitoria dixo, en alma valerosa,
 Viuir quiero, tu Daualos difunto,
 Ambas Romanas son el valor junto.
 Vitoria, mas que Porcia es gloriosa,
 En la muerte dolor no queda un punto,
 La viua, quanto viue, es dolorosa.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 371v.

⁶¹ *Idem*, pp. 197-197v.

The influence of Martial is evident, but the latter part of the composition is derived, not from a poem by Vittoria Colonna, but from Pietro Gravina's Latin epigram entitled "In obitum Marchionis Piscariae":

Non vivam sine te, mi Brute, exterrita dixit
 Portia, et ardentes sorbuit ore faces.
 Davale te extincto vivam Victoria, dixit,
 Perpetuo tristes sic dolitura dies.
 Utraque Romana est; sed in hoc Victoria major
 Nulla dolere potest mortua, viva potest.⁶²

In addition to the versions of Martial, Mal-Lara also translated several epigrams of Ausonius. The first is the tenth epigram and is rendered as follows:

Dió una muger ponçoña a su marido,
 Ella porque es adúltera, él zeloso,
 Y para apresurar el fin rabioso,
 Años de azogue a bueltas embeuido.
 Y cada qual de aquestos repartido
 Haze veneno brauo y furioso,
 Y juntos, dan remedio prouechoso,
 Quando ambos el hombre se ha beuido.
 En tanto que estos dos malos pelean,
 A la salud se rinde el mal veneno,
 Y purga por abaxo el que no muere.
 Porque el fauor de Dios las gentes vean,
 Ser la muger cruel mas, le fue bueno,
 Y dos ponçoñas sanan, si Dios quiere.⁶³

To illustrate the *refrán* "Con la agena cosa el hombre mal se honra" the attack on the grammarian Philomuso (Ausonius, XLV), is excellently rendered by Mal-Lara in the following verses:

Tiéneste por Gramático y Letrado,
 Luego que armaste grande librería
 Llena de varios libros, que has mercado

⁶² *Carmina Illustrum Poetarum Italorum*, Tomus V, Florence, 1720, p. 367.

⁶³ *La Filosofía vulgar*, p. 203v.

Para vender tan gran sabiduría.
 Compra, pues, un laud bien encordado,
 Un psalterio, vihuela, chirimía,
 Y no te falta harpa, que oy o mañana
 Serás buen tañedor de propia gana.⁶⁴

Mal-Lara also translated the epigram of Ausonius on the courtesan Lais (II, 65):

El espejo consagro yo Lays vieja
 A Venus, do su eterna hermosura
 Tenga un seruicio eterno que apareja
 Digno retrato della en su figura,
 Mi arrugada vejez oy me aconseja
 Que aprouecharme deste no es cordura;
 Que verme qual estoy, tengo gran miedo,
 Y verme qual yo era, ya no puedo.⁶⁵

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's graceful translation of the same epigram has already been quoted.⁶⁶

A closer study of *La filosofía vulgar* would probably show that in addition to the classical authors, Mal-Lara was also well acquainted with Latin epigrams written in Italy during the sixteenth century. His use of Pietro Gravina's epigram on Fernando de Avalos has already been mentioned. Another example is found in the following composition written to illustrate the *refrán* "Hijo eres, y padre serás; que hizieres, tal aurás" which is derived from an epigram by Marullo:

Por medio de los Griegos el Troyano
 Eneas a su padre en ombros lleua,
 Buela con tan suaue carga ufano;
 Ninguno contra mi (dize) se mueua;
 Quitarme un viejo, hecho es muy liuiano,
 Librar mi padre, es gloria alta y nueua;
 Dexá vuestra ganancia baxa, y poca,
 Pues la mia a los mismos cielos toca.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 369v.

⁶⁶ See p. 21

⁶⁷ Juan de Mal-Lara, *op. cit.*, p. 282v.

We have seen that in attempting to illustrate Spanish proverbs, Mal-Lara translated thirty-eight epigrams by Martial with thirty-nine versions. Throughout this entertaining book, he constantly quotes in Spanish from many Latin and Greek, as well as Italian authors, showing his wide range of reading. No copy of Martial is mentioned in the lists of his books offered for sale after his death,⁶⁸ but there is every reason to believe that the Latin epigrammatist was one of his favorite authors. The parallels that he draws between the homely *refranes* and the mosaic-like verses of Martial are striking, and the patient care lavished upon interpretations and explanations entitles *La Filosofía vulgar* to an important place among Spanish paroemiological books.

As a translator of Martial, Mal-Lara merits high praise. Rarely does he exceed the limits of his original, which is no easy task when one considers the conciseness of Martial. He fits his metrical form to each composition, and prefers clarity and accuracy to mere rhetoric. The wit that so frequently appears in these pages seems to show that there was an intellectual kinship between Martial and himself.

The Castilian poets of the second half of the sixteenth century seem to have had little interest in the epigram. The verse of Hernando de Acuña, Francisco de Figueroa, Francisco de la Torre, Lomas Cantoral and Cervantes, for example, was lyrical rather than critical, and was far more closely related to Garcilaso, the Italian Petrarchists, Virgil, Ovid and Horace than to the barbed shafts of Martial.

It fell to the lot of Baltasar Alcázar (1530-1606), a fellow-townsmen of Juan de Mal-Lara, to reflect more completely than any other Spaniard the spirit of Martial. Francisco Pacheco, an intimate friend, writes as follows of the poet's youth: "Fue muy estudioso i aventajado en las lenguas vulgares, i particularmente en la Latina, i obras de los Poetas Clasicos, con pura aficion a Marcial, cuyo imitador fue en las gracias."⁶⁹ He also soldiered in his youth, like so many poets of his day,

⁶⁸ Footnote. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos para las biografías de cien escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 14-18.

⁶⁹ *Poesías de Baltasar del Alcázar*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1910, p. XVI. His life is given on pages V-XC.

and in later years is said to have devoted himself to the physical sciences, but we can be sure that whether in active campaigning or while serving as mayor of the tiny Andalusian village of Molares, he continued to read with pleasure his volume of Martial.

He was entirely competent to write complimentary sonnets to ladies who, temporarily, held his heart captive, but real inspiration is found only in his satirical and burlesque verse. He had the faculty of seeing the ridiculous side of things, even of his own gout and the doctor's ban on wine. His style is crisp and direct, with a homely savor which suits admirably his subjects, and he possessed uncanny skill in pouring poison in the tail of his satirical compositions. The poet Jáuregui said of him: "No sé que consiguiese Marcial salir tan corregido i limpio de sus Epigramas. I lo que más admira es que a vezes con senzilla sentencia, o ninguna, haze sabroso plato de lo más frío: i labra en sus burlas un estilo tan torneado, que sólo el rodar de sus versos tiene donaire, i con lo más descuidado despierta el gusto. En fin, su modo de componer, asi como no se dexa imitar apenas se acierta a describir."⁷⁰

In spite of his evident liking for Martial, the direct influence of the Latin master is seen only in two of his epigrams. Martial in IV, 65 thus describes why Philaenis wept with only one eye:

Oculo Philaenis semper altero plorat.
Quo fiat istud quaeritis modo? Iusca est.

Alcázar elaborates the details somewhat, but his explanation of this peculiarity of Catalina is identical:

Llora su pena y enojo
Tiernamente Catalina,
Y llóralo la mezquina
Siempre con sólo el un ojo.
Si quiere saber alguno
Que la causa dello ignora
Por qué con un ojo llora,
Porque no tiene más de uno.⁷¹

⁷⁰ *Idem*, p. LXXXIV.

⁷¹ *Idem*, No. XXVII, p. 52.

Martial (III, 61) promises as follows to grant Cinna's request:

Esse nihil dicis quidquid petis, improbe Cinna:
Si nil, Cinna, petis, nil tibi, Cinna, nego.

The Sevillian Martial shows a like generosity, but develops the theme to a greater length:

Dice Inés que nada es
Cuanto me pide, y yo luego
Digo que nada le niego,
De cuanto me pide Inés.
Inés tanto se comide,
Que cuanto me pide es nada;
Y yo, a quien tanto esto agrada,
Le doy la nada que pide.
Y tan liberal he andado,
Que, por no pecar de necio,
Cuanto pide con desprecio
Tanto le doy con agrado.⁷²

Perhaps the comparative absence of direct translations from Martial may be explained by the vigor of Alcázar's own personality. Even in the sixteenth century, the age of Imitation, consistent translating from others was the mark of a docile mind. However, many of Alcázar's "poesías festivas" with their pointed endings resemble closely the practice of his illustrious Roman ancestor.

Alcázar is a master in reserving a striking effect for the last line as illustrated in the remark of Inés regarding her husband's infidelity:

Aconsejándole a Inés
Se quite de su marido,
Que anda entre putas perdido,
Respondió como quien es:
—Aunque veo por extenso
Lo mal que hace en dejarme,
Yo no pienso dél quitarme;
Mas desquitarme sí pienso.⁷³

⁷² *Idem*, No. XIV, pp. 47-8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, No. IV, p. 44.

Similarly pointed is the following with its laconic and meaningful ending:

Juana espera la venida
De su marido; no entiendo
Por qué no viene, teniendo
La mujer tan malsufrida.
Mal hace: no se detenga
Ni pierda esta coyuntura,
Si no quiere por ventura
Venir tarde cuando venga.⁷⁴

His description of a poet is worthy of Martial himself:

Si es poeta el ser ladrón,
Más poeta sois que Caco;
Que Horacio no fué tan flaco,
Ni Ovidio fué más nasón.⁷⁵

The other leading members of the Sevillian group of poets in the latter part of the sixteenth century preferred other literary forms to the epigram. Divine Herrera sang of flaming patriotism and sublimated love, and did not stop to etch human frailties. Francisco de Medina followed in the wake of Garcilaso. Juan de la Cueva, apparently using Sannio as a spokesman in the *Viaje de Sannio*,⁷⁶ states that he had translated Martial, but we have been unable to identify any of these translations in the summary of his verse given by Gallardo.⁷⁷ Barahona de Soto frequently shows the influence of Ovid, Virgil and Horace, but he has left only one epigram, a translation from Marullo.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, No. XXI, p. 50.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, No. LXXXV, p. 72.

⁷⁶ *Poèmes inédits (Viaje de Sannio)*, ed. F. A. Wulff, in *Acta Universitatis Lundensis* (1886-87), Vol. XXIII; Primera parte, No. 17, p. 4, where he declares:

Yo he escrito por virtud muy de mi espacio
(creyendo que me fuera provechoso)
mas que Homero, Virgilio, Ovidio, Estacio,
i e traducido a Marcial gracioso;

⁷⁷ *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, Madrid, 1866, Vol. II, col. 637-736.

⁷⁸ Rodríguez Marín, *Barahona de Soto*, Madrid, 1903, pp. 166, 339 and 789.

Don Juan de Arguijo, the patron of many of the Sevillian poets, is best known for his sonnets on subjects drawn from Greek and Roman history and mythology. These sonnets are derived from various sources, and at least four of them are derived from classical epigrams. One on Hero and Leander comes indirectly from Martial, and the following on Scaevola is based on Martial's I, 21:

Ofrece al fuego la engañada diestra
 Ante el rey enemigo el esforzado
 Scévola, y de aquel yerro no culpado,
 Con denuedo espantoso el pesar muestra.
 Del fuerte corazon la insigne muestra
 El ofendido rey miró turbado,
 Y aquella mano respetó admirado,
 Que supo errando a tantas ser maestro.
 "No castigueis, le dijo, valeroso
 Mancebo, el fuerte brazo, cuyo engaño
 Me dió vida y a dártela me mueve.
 Hoy Roma por tu intento generoso
 Verá que, libre de tan cierto daño,
 Mas a tu hierro que a sus fuerzas debe."⁷⁹

His sonnet *A la estatua de Niobe que labró Praxiteles*⁸⁰ elaborates upon the sixty-third epigram of Ausonius⁸¹ and the same writer's couplet on Dido:

Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito:
 hoc pereunte fugis, hoc fugiente peris.

is found in the last tercet of the following sonnet:

⁷⁹ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XXXII, sonnet LII, p. 401.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, soneto LIV, p. 401, or *Sonetos*, ed. J. Colón y Colón, Sevilla, 1841, p. 21.

⁸¹ The Latin original is:

Vivebam: sum facta silex, quae deinde polita
 Praxiteli manibus vivo iterum Niobe.
 reddidit artificis manus omnia, sed sine sensu:
 hunc ego, cum laesi nimina, non habui.

La tirana codicia del hermano,
 Impia ocasion del fin de tu Siqueo,
 Huiste fiel por el airado Egeo,
 Elisa, hasta el término africano;
 Donde reliquias del ardor troyano
 Encendieron en tí nuevo deseo,
 Y entregaste en infausto himeneo
 Al Teucro engañador la fe y la mano.
 Despreciaste, en tu daño presurosa,
 La merecida fama, que destruyes
 Con el engaño que obstinada quieres.
 ¡Oh en ambas bodas poco venturosa!
 Muriendo el uno, perseguida huyes;
 Huyendo el otro, desdeñada mueres.⁸³

In Aragon the outstanding poets toward the close of the sixteenth century were the Leonardo de Argensola brothers. Their verse was in turn lyrical, contemplative and satirical, and only rarely assumed the form of epigram. Lupercio's sonnet *En los brazos de Lamia el viejo amante*⁸³ has a definite epigrammatic quality, of which it would be difficult to find other examples in his work. Bartolomé showed more interest in epigrams, although they form an inconspicuous part of his total production. Two translations from Martial were included in the posthumous edition of his works, both of which had been translated previously by Mal-Lara. The first deals with the much-married Chloe:

Cloe la septima vez
 las exequias celebró:
 siete maridos lloró:
 no hay tan honrada viudez.
 ¿Pudo con mas sencillez
 toda la verdad dezir?
 Mandó en la piedra escribir
 que ella les dió sepultura,
 i dixo la verdad pura,
 porque los hizo morir.⁸⁴

⁸³ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XXXII, soneto XXXII, p. 398, or the Colón y Colón ed., p. 15.

⁸³ *Obras sueltas*, ed. Conde de la Viñaza (*Col. de escritores castellanos*, Vols. 69, 75), Madrid, 1889, Vol. I, p. 10.

⁸⁴ *Rimas*, 1634, p. 501. Martial's epigram is IX, 15.

The second describes the toothless consumptive of epigram I, 19:

Cuatro dientes te quedaron
(si bien me acuerdo), mas dos,
Elia, de una tos volaron,
los otros dos de otra tos.
Seguramente toser
puedes ya todos los dias,
pues no tiene en tus encias
la tercera tos que hazer.⁸⁵

Subsequently two other translations of Martial by Bartolomé have been published. The first of these (V, 29) describes the value of eating a hare to improve one's appearance:

Cuando una liebre me envías,
Gelía, me sueles decir:
"Mi Marcial, has de salir
Hermoso estos siete días;"
Si no te burlas, si das
Crédito a tales antojos,
Gelía, liebre tú a mis ojos
No la comiste jamás.⁸⁶

The second (II, 9) deals with Naevia's failure to reply to the poet's letter:

Escribí y no ha respondido
Nebia; luego indicio es malo
Que no hará lo que pido;
Pero pienso que ha leído
Mi billete; luego harálo.⁸⁷

In addition to these, Bartolomé Leonardo translated the epigram of Ausonius on Dido,⁸⁸ which was so frequently rendered into Spanish and also Jaime Falcó's verse "*Alma Venus praegnans*

⁸⁵ *Idem*, p. 501.

⁸⁶ *Obras sueltas*, ed. by el Conde de la Viñaza, Madrid, 1889, Vol. II, p. 101.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 102.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 103.

cum jam"⁸⁹ which was equally popular in Spain. Bartolomé mentions Martial as follows in his letter to the Count of Lemos entitled *Del estilo propio de la sátira*: "De Marcial no trato aquí por la opinión de truhán en que le tienen algunos, no sé con cuanta razón: es cierto que en muchos epigramas mezcla entre las burlas tanta gravedad que se excede a sí mismo."⁹⁰

Joaquín Romero de Cepeda, a native of Badajoz, is known chiefly as the author of two mediocre plays, *Comedia Salvaje* and *Comedia Metamorfosea*, but in the volume of his works published at Seville in 1582, he also included some lyrical verse which has no greater claim to immortality than his comedies. One of these compositions, addressed to his brother, Padre José Romero, is a free rendering of Martial's epigram X, 47 in which the poet describes the satisfaction that comes from a life free of care:

Lo que a la vida haze mas contenta,
 Segura, y agradable, (mi Romero),
 Es hacienda eredada, no adquirida,
 Ni con trabajo propio procurada;
 No ser ingrato el campo, ni el cortijo,
 Que su frente nos de, abundantemente,
 Un pacífico fuego, y perdurable,
 Do no falte el cabrito y la ternera.
 Pleytos nunca, que son de grande estoruo.
 El publico mandar muy pocas vezes,
 Que las menos se haze como deue,
 Y justicia no aplaze al vulgo indocto.
 Animo sosegado y recogido,
 Grandes fuerças, el cuerpo libre y sano;

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 37. In his edition of the *Trajedia de Narciso de Francisco de la Cueva y Silva*, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 63, note I, Dr. J. P. Wickersham Crawford cites the following versions as an index of its popularity: "A translation of it by Salinas is found in the *Agudeza y arte de ingenio de Gracián* (chap. xxxix). It was also translated by D. Agustín de Salazar y Torres and by José Morell, who published it in his *Poesías selectas* (Tarragona, 1683). Another version is found in the *Obras sueltas* of Lupercio and Bartolomé de Argensola, Madrid, 1889, Vol II, p. 37. It formed part of the argument of Calderón's comedia *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*." A version of it is also found in *Rimas varias de Jerónimo de Porras*, Antequera, 1639, fol. 42v-43v.

⁹⁰ Conde de la Viñaza, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

Simplicidad sagaz, yguál amigo.
 En el trato agradable, no molesto.
 La mesa no con arte, ni compuesta,
 Que con poco natura se contenta.
 Y a donde quiera agrada si ay desseo;
 La noche no sea ebria, mas templada
 Y libre de cuydados y negocios.
 El cerebro quieto, no cargado.
 No triste y sola cama, mas honesta,
 De la muger y hijos rodeada.
 El sueño moderado, no profundo,
 De suerte que parezca corta noche.
 Dessea ser lo que eras, mas no pidas
 Contento con tu estado; viue alegre;
 No temas el morir, ni lo dessees.⁹¹

A fairly accurate cross-section of Spanish lyric poetry at the close of the sixteenth century is given in the *Primera parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres de España*,⁹² collected by the Antequeran Pedro Espinosa, and published at Valladolid in 1605. Foreign influences are particularly noticeable in the adaptations from Ovid, Virgil and the Italian Petrarchists, and in the many versions of Horace's Odes. Probably owing to the collector's individual tastes, relatively few "poesías festivas" are included, but the comparatively insignificant position occupied by versions of Martial seems to indicate that the poets of the day were preferring other Latin poets as a source of inspiration.

Only two of the compositions included in the *Flores de poetas ilustres* are derived from Martial. The first of these is Francisco de la Cueva's version of the epigram on Porcia (I, 42):

Porcia, después que del famoso Bruto
 Supo y creyó la miserable suerte:
 "No viva yo sin tí," con pecho fuerte
 Dijo, llorando sobre el casto luto.
 "Ved que las armas me escondéis sin fruto,
 Gente curiosa en impedir mi muerte;

⁹¹ *Obras de Joachim Romero de Cepeda*, Sevilla, 1582, fol. 46-46v.

⁹² Ed. Rodríguez Marín, Sevilla, 1896.

Que amor me da con que a pagalle acierte
 Desta limpieza y desta fe el tributo."
 Tragó las brasas; y aunque allá sintieron
 Que las de amor, si amor lo permitiera,
 Bastaron a vencer su fuerza esquivá,
 Como todas a intento igual vinieron,
 Concertáronse al fin de tal manera,
 Que la mataron por dejarla viva.⁹³

The second is Quevedo's version of the arraignment of the strumpet Lesbia (I, 34):

Sólo en tí, Lesbia, vemos que ha perdido
 El adulterio la vergüenza al cielo,
 Pues que tan claramente y tan sin velo
 Has los hidalgos huesos ofendido.
 Por Dios, por tí, por mí, por tu marido,
 Que no sepa tu infamia todo el suelo;
 Cierra la puerta, vive con recelo,
 Que el pecado nació para escondido.
 No digo yo que dejes tus amigos,
 Mas digo que no es bien que sean notados
 De los pocos que son tus enemigos.
 Mira que tus vecinos, afrentados,
 Dicen que te deleitan los testigos
 De tus pecados más que tus pecados.⁹⁴

It would be natural to expect to find some evidence of the growing interest in Martial in the treatises on rhetoric and poetics. Juan de Guzmán, author of the *Primera parte de la Rhetorica* (1589), included illustrative material in Spanish drawn from Martial as well as from other Latin poets, but it must be confessed that the translations are as insignificant as the critical comments. In the first *Combite* occurs a version of the unconscionably long epigram of Martial (I, 49) addressed to Licinianus, introduced without rime or reason into the dialogue.

⁹³ Rodríguez Marín's edition, pp. 125 and 376. This sonnet was quoted by Gracián in his *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, 1773 ed., p. 18.

⁹⁴ *Idem*, pp. 175 and 396.

He translates as follows Martial's verses to his critic who never published his own poems (I, 91):

Lelio, mis versos has reprehendido,
Sin auer tu los tuyos diuulgado,
O no quieras mi verso auer mordido,
O haz que el tuyo sea a luz sacado.⁹⁵

and also his epigram on litigious Diodorus (I, 98):

Pleytos trae Diodoro, y trabajado,
O Flacco mio, de gota anda y sin tiento,
Mas en no darle cosa a su letrado
Es la gota peor que yo le siento.⁹⁶

Other translations from Martial occurring in this volume, usually without critical comment, include the epigram on the chaste Arria (I, 13),⁹⁷ his charge to Quintianus⁹⁸ on the preservation of his works (I, 52), on the dissimilar qualities of a book (I, 16),⁹⁹ on the theft of verses by one who recites them badly (I, 38),¹⁰⁰ on the bee hidden in the drop of amber (IV, 32)¹⁰¹ and the epigram bidding Faustinus make known his works (I, 25).¹⁰²

A far more important work in every respect was *La philosophia antigua poética* (1596) of Alonso López Pinciano. In the twelfth *Epístola* he discusses briefly the epigram as a literary type and calls attention to the difficulty incidental to its classification: "El epigrama no es otro que una breve descripción y demostración de alguna cosa. Este poema no se reduce particularmente bien a alguno de los cuatro principales, ni aun de los seis menos insignes; porque él se mete en todas materias, acciones, lugares, tiempos y personas, y en suma, él es como una folla de todos los demás

⁹⁵ *Primera parte de la Rhetorica*, Alcalá de Henares, 1589, f. 79v.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, f. 80.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, f. 113.

⁹⁸ *Idem* f, 134v.

⁹⁹ *Idem*, f. 165.

¹⁰⁰ *Idem*, f. 192-192v.

¹⁰¹ *Idem*, f. 240.

¹⁰² *Idem*, f. 290v.-291.

poemas, porque se hallan epigramas heróicos como aquel de Pausanias:

De los ufanos griegos vencedores,
Trujo estas armas el vencido Eneas.

Hállanse también trágicos, como aquel de Marcial, a do hablando Leandro con las olas que le anegaban dijo:

Dadme perdón mientras que al ir doy priesa
Y mientras doy la vuelta, dadme a fondo.

Haylos cómicos infinitos en Marcial, haylos satíricos, haylos en alabanzas, y en suma los hay de todas especies de poética. Pide este poema suma brevedad y agudeza suma, porque no las teniendo, queda muy desabrido y enfadoso; que el concepto si es largo, cansa, y si boto, hiere como mazo."¹⁰³

His other references to Martial are relatively insignificant. In the second Epístola, one of the interlocutors tries to justify the occasional wantonness of Ovid and Martial by their virtuous conduct, and the author replies: "Con todo eso, hacen mucho daño a la república los semejantes poetas, que aunque el escritor sea en sus costumbres bueno, si no lo es en los escritos, será de mucho más perjuicio que si al contrario fuera."¹⁰⁴ In discussing the introduction of neologisms he quotes Martial's epigram I, 50,¹⁰⁵ and in speaking of the actor who can make or mar a poet's verses, he gives a version of I, 38, also translated by Juan de Guzmán:

El libro que ahora lees, Fidentino
Tú le lees y entiendes de manera
Que deja de ser mío y se hace tuyo.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *La Filosofía antigua*, ed. D. Pedro Muñoz Peña, Valladolid, 1894, p. 486.

¹⁰⁴ *Idem*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁵ *Idem*, p. 234.

¹⁰⁶ *Idem*, p. 502.

II

SPANISH IMITATIONS OF MARTIAL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645) was the outstanding Spanish satirist in both prose and verse in the early part of the seventeenth century. *Los Sueños* show how unmercifully he could laugh, and his satirical verse was only a bit less disconcerting to his enemies. Dishonest public officials, thieving tradespeople, charlatans, cultist poets and personal enemies alike felt the lash of his tongue. While undoubtedly he felt closer kinship with Juvenal and Persius, he translated a few epigrams of Martial, and a number of his briefer compositions seem to have much in common with the Latin epigrammatist. We have already seen that his version of Martial's "Incustoditis et apertis, Lesbia, semper" (I, 34) was included in the first part of the *Flores de poetas ilustres*.¹

A desire to justify some of his own work probably led him to translate Martial's epigram (IV, 49):

Créeme, Flacco, que ignoras lo que cierran
 En sí los epigrammas; pues que piensas
 Que no son mas de burlas y niñerías.
 Más burla aquel que escribe de Tereo
 Crüel, banquetes; o de Tiestes duro
 La cena, o a Dedalo pegándose las alas,
 O a Polyphemo que apacienta ovejas
 En Sicilia. Están de nuestros libros
 Lejos estas locuras mentirosas.
 No con locas grandezas nuestra Musa
 Se hincha, que bien sé que alaban todos
 Esas cosas, bien sé que las alaban,
 Ésas adoran; pero leen aquestas.²

¹ See p. 49.

² *Obras completas*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo (Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces), Sevilla, 1897-1907, Vol. II, p. 89.

His version of Martial's IV, 3 is an interesting example of adaptation of old material to suit his own purpose where flattery of Domitian is altered to describe a bullfight and cane tourney at the Buen Retiro:

Llueven calladas aguas en vellones
 Blancos las nubes mudas; pasa el día,
 Mas no sin majestad, en sombra fría,
 Y mira el sol que esconde, en los balcones.
 No admiten el invierno corazones
 Asistidos de ardiente valentía;
 Que influye la española monarquía
 Fuerza igualmente en toros y rejonos.
 El blasón de Jarama, humedecida
 Y ardiendo la ancha frente en torva saña,
 En sangre vierte la purpúrea vida.
 Y, lisonjera al grande Rey de España,
 La tempestad, en nieve oscurecida,
 Aplaudió al brazo, al fresno y a la caña.³

He paraphrases the heroism of Scaevola, paraphrasing Martial's I, 21:

Tú solo en los errores acertado,
 Con brazo, Mucio, en llamas encendido,
 Más temor diste, a Jove que atrevido
 El gigante con ciento rebelado.
 Tu diestra, con imperio fortunado,
 Reinando entre las brasas, ha vencido
 Con ceniza y con humo esclarecido
 De Pórsena el ejército admirado.
 Tu, cuya diestra fuerte, si no errara,
 Hiciera menos, porque no venciera
 Sitio que a Roma invicta sujetara,
 Pudiste ver tu propio brazo hoguera;
 No pudo verte Pórsena, y ampara
 Deshecho a quien armado no pudiera.³

³ *Idem*, Vol. III, pp. 349-350.

⁴ *Idem*, Vol. III, pp. 350-351.

Two epigrams of Ausonius (132 and 133) beginning "Insidens caeco graditur pede claudus utroque," and "Ambulat insidens caeco pede captus utroque," were paraphrased very cleverly in the following sonnet:

El ciego lleva acuestas al tullido,
 Dígola maña, y caridad la niego,
 Pues en ojos los pies le paga al ciego
 El coxo, solo para sí impedido.
 El mundo en estos dos está entendido,
 Si a discurrir en sus astucias llego,
 Pues yo te asisto a ti por tu talego,
 Tú, en los que sé, cobrar de mi has querido.
 Si tú me das los pies, te doy los ojos.
 Todo este mundo es trueco interesado,
 Y despojos se cambian por despojos.
 Ciegos, con todos hablo escarmentado,
 Pues unos somos ciegos y otros cojos,
 Ande el pie con el ojo remendado.⁵

In the same manner Sonnet III of the *Musa Polymnia* entitled "Contiene una elegante enseñanza de que todo lo criado tiene su muerte, de la enfermedad del tiempo" is based on the last part of the epigram of Ausonius beginning "Lucius una quidem, geminis sed dissita punitis":

Falleció César fortunado y fuerte
 Ignoran la piedad y el escarmiento
 Señas de su glorioso monumento,
 Porque también para el sepulcro hay muerte.
 Muere la vida, y de la misma suerte
 Muere el entierro rico y opulento;
 La Hora, con oculto movimiento,
 Aun calla el grito que la Fama vierte.
 Devanan sol y luna, noche y día,
 Del mundo la robusta vida, y lloras
 Las advertencias que la edad te envía.
 Risueña enfermedad son las auroras;
 Lima de la salud es su alegría;
 Licas, sepultureros son las Horas.⁶

⁵El *Parnaso español, y Musas Castellanas de Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas*, Madrid, 1668, Soneto 49 of the *Musa Talia*, p. 305.

⁶*Obras completas*, Vol. III, pp. 413-4.

The six lines of Sannazaro's epigram (II, 27) beginning "Miraris, liquidum cur non dissolvor in amnem," were reproduced by Quevedo as the third sonnet of the *Musa Erato*:

Los que ciego me ven de haber llorado,
 Y las lagrimas saben, que he vertido,
 Admiran, de que en fuentes dividido,
 O en lluvias ya no corra derramado.
 Pero mi corazón arde admirado
 (Porque en tus llamas, Lisis, encendido)
 De no verme en centellas repartido,
 Y en humo negro, y llamas desatado.
 En mí no vencen largos, y altos ríos
 A incendios, que animosos me maltratan;
 Ni el llanto se defiende de sus bríos.
 La agua, y el fuego en mí de paces tratan;
 Y amigos son, por ser contrarios míos;
 Y los dos, por matarme, no se matan.⁷

An excellent example of Quevedo's skill in composing wholly original epigrams is found in his epitaph to Celestina:

Yace en esta tierra fría,
 Digna de toda crianza,
 La vieja cuya alabanza
 Tantas plumas merecía.
 No quiso en el cielo entrar
 A gozar de las estrellas,
 Por no estar entre doncellas
 Que no pudiese manchar.⁸

Although it seems he derived nothing specifically from Martial, it would be unreasonable to omit in this study the name of Quevedo's arch-enemy, the Cordoban Luis de Góngora (1561-1627). Capable of penning the tenderest feelings in lucid verse and of torturing words and syntax to fit his new conception of art, he could also describe with trenchant wit the homeliest

⁷ *El Parnaso español*, Madrid, 1668, p. 177-8.

⁸ *Obras completas*, Vol. II, pp. 17.

of topics. Usually, in his satirical and burlesque verse Góngora did not employ the pointed ending which commonly marks the epigram, but this characteristic is occasionally found. The sonnet to the Galician beauties must suffice here as an example:

Palido sol en cielo encapotado,
 Mozas rollizas de anchos culiseos,
 Tetas de vacas, piernas de correos,
 Suelo menos barrido que regado;
 Campo todo de tojos matizado,
 Verzas gigantes, nabos filisteos,
 Gallos del Cairo, bucaros pigmeos,
 Traje tosco i estilo mal limado;
 Cuestas que llegan a la ardiente esfera,
 Pan de Guinea, techos sahumados,
 Candelas de resina con tericia;
 Papas de mijo en concas de madera,
 Cuevas profundas, asperos collados,
 Es lo que llaman Reyno de Galicia.⁹

The second part of the *Flores de poetas ilustres de España*, prepared for publication by Juan Antonio Calderón in the early years of the seventeenth century but not printed until 1896, contains even fewer epigrams than the first part. A sonnet of Don Juan de Arguijo, already mentioned,¹⁰ is derived from Ausonius, and Agustín Calderón's translation of a rather over-subtle epigram of Pontano is also included.¹¹ The following sonnet of Luis Martín is distinguished from the many amatory compositions by its epigrammatic quality:

En este oscuro y triste monumento
 Que espinas cercan de cambrón pungente,
 Donde habita el horror y no se siente
 Sino de buhos el noturno acento,
 Vivo, aunque muerto, en inmortal contento,

⁹ *Obras poéticas de D. Luis de Góngora*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc (*Bibliotheca hispanica*, vols. xvi, xvii, xx), New York, 1921, Vol. XX, No. 476, pp. 33-4.

¹⁰ See p. 44.

¹¹ Footnote. Rodríguez Marín edition, pp. 99 and 371.

Pues sin la luz del sol, perpetuamente
 Me hurtaré a los ojos de la gente;
 Que fué su vista mi mayor tormento.
 Tú que llegas aquí, cualquier que seas,
 Y atrevido saber quién soy pretendes,
 Temerás, si lo sabes; vé adelante;
 Mira que soy Timón. Mas si deseas
 Paz a mis huesos, y mi gusto entiendes,
 Ahórcate de un árbol, caminante.¹²

One of the most bitterly attacked poets in Spanish literature and one who did not fail to repay his enemies in the same satirical manner was the unfortunate Count of Villamediana (1580–1622). Even when exiled, he continued to hurl epigrammatic missiles against the court and the Ministers of State, and in some of his compositions, the language was especially offensive and aroused deep resentment. Against a certain Vergel, Villamediana wrote this stinging epigram:

¡Qué galán que entró Vergel
 Con cintillo de diamantes!
 Diamantes que fueron antes
 De amantes de su mujer.¹³

One composition directed against the Marquis of Malpica is unusually clever:

Cuando el Marqués de Malpica,
 Caballero de la llave,
 Con su silencio replica,
 Dice todo cuanto sabe.¹⁴

Although the Count was so expert in using Martial's weapons, so far as we know, the following satire which is a close translation of V, 47 is the only direct translation from the Latin master:

¹² *Idem*, p. 137.

¹³ Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *El Conde de Villamediana*, Madrid, 1886, p. 90.

¹⁴ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XLII, p. 162.

Jura don Juan por su vida
Que nunca cena en su casa,
Y es que sin cenar se pasa
Cuando otro no le convida.¹⁵

If economy of words and a satirical slant are the outstanding qualities in an epigrammatist, it is not surprising that the epigram should be so meagerly represented in the enormous quantity of non-dramatic verse of Lope de Vega (1562-1635). Temperamentally, Lope was lyrical or expository rather than critical, and the stream of his ideas rarely sought a small container. He mentioned Martial occasionally, but never in terms that displayed genuine affection, and I have found only one composition that is definitely derived from him. This is a sonnet which follows closely Martial's X, 47 on the ingredients of a happy life:

Estas las cosas son que hacen la vida
Agradable, Marcial, mas fortunada,
Hacienda por herencia, no ganada
Con afan, heredad agradecida.
Hogar continuo, nunca conocida
Querella o pleyto, toga poco usada,
Fuerzas, salud, el alma sossegada,
Sencillez cuerda, amigos a medida.
Mesa sin artificio, leve pasto,
Noche sin embriaguez, ni cuidadosa,
Lecho no solitario, pero casto.
Sueño que abrevie la tiniebla fea;
Lo que eres quieras ser, y no otra cosa,
Ni morir teme, ni vivir desea.¹⁶

It has already been stated that Lope wrote a sonnet on the Hero and Leander¹⁷ story beginning "Por ver si queda en su furor desecho."¹⁸ In the *Fortunas de Diana*, Lope imitated Martial's version of the same story (XXVB of *De Spectaculis*) as:

¹⁵ Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁶ *Colección de las obras sueltas, asien prosa como en verso*, Madrid, 1776-1779, 21 volumes, Vol. III, p. 441.

¹⁷ See p. 19.

¹⁸ *La hermosura de Angélica, con otras diuersas rimas*, Madrid, 1602, soneto LXXX, fol. 278v.

Ondas, dejadme passar,
y matadme quando vuelva.¹⁹

In the *Peregrino en su patria* (1604) he declares "Marcial festivamente dixo, que no hay remedio como amar para ser amado."²⁰

In addition to Martial, Lope also rendered a few of the epigrams of Ausonius into Spanish verse. The following sonnet is the popular story of unfortunate Dido, imitated from the composition beginning "Illa ego sum Dido, vultu quam conspicis hospes" reproduced as:

Yo soy la casta Dido celebrada,
Y no la que Virgilio infama en vano,
Porque jamas me vió Eneas Troyano,
Ni a Libia decendió su Teucra armada.
No fué lasciuo amor, fué casta espada
La que me hirió por Hiarbas el tyrano,
Viuí, y mateme con mi propia mano,
Mis muros leuantados, y vengada.
Pues yo viuí sin ofender las glorias,
De mi fama y hazañas, ¿porque infamas
Mi castidad, Virgilio, en versos tales?
Pero creed los que leeys historias
Que no es mucho disfame humanas famas
Quien se atreue a los Dioses Celestiales.²¹

Among the original compositions of Lope that seem to possess the spirit and form of the classical epigram, the following epitaph on the Cid is especially worthy of mention:

Alarbes me dieron parias,
como a Rey y Emperador,
y me llamaron señor
del Africa partes varias.
La obediencia y el poder
juntos conmigo vivieron,
vivo nunca me vencieron,
y muerto pude vencer.²²

¹⁹ *Obras sueltas*, Vol. VIII, p. 49.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 424. The closest to this in Martial is VI, 29. It seems to be rather a reproduction of the closing words of epigram XXII of Ausonius: "Hoc tibi tu praesta, Marce: *ut ameris, ama.*"

²¹ *La hermosa de Angélica*, Madrid, 1602, soneto CXVIII, f. 302-302v.

²² *Obras sueltas*, Vol. VI, p. 200.

Juan de Jáuregui (1583-1641) is chiefly known as the author of a graceful translation of Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1607) and as a bitter, if somewhat captious, critic of Góngora in his *Antídoto contra las Soledades*. In his critical works, he showed considerable independence of judgment, but as a poet his best compositions are translations. While he only wrote epigrams occasionally, as for example, his epitaphs upon the Count of Villamediana, his *Rimas*,²³ printed in 1618, contain several versions and adaptations.

The first of these is a free rendering of I, 21 on the courage of Scaevola:

Librar del fuego la engañada mano
Manda Porsena, y el acero agudo,
Que Mucio abrasa, de temor desnudo,
Y del castigo de sí mismo ufano.
La propia diestra que el varon romano
Ardiendo pudo ver inmoble y mudo,
Esa mirar intrépido no pudo
El ofendido Príncipe toscano.
En alta admiracion cambia la saña,
La vida al enemigo reservando,
Que para darle muerte armó la diestra.
Feliz error, que mejoró la hazaña:
Mano siempre feliz, pues pudo, errando,
Ser egemplo de tantas y maestra.²⁴

He paraphrased as follows the first epigram of *Liber De Spectaculis*, expanding eight lines into twenty-four:

No, Menfis generosa
Sus bárbaras pirámides ostente,
Labor maravillosa;
Ni ensalce vanamente
Sus muros Babilonia entronizados,
Con sumo afan y brevedad formados.
Su presuncion ufana
Rinda el efesio habitador que honora

²³ *Colección de poetas españoles*, ed. Ramón Fernández, Madrid, 1789-1820, 20 volumes. The *Rimas* are in the sixth volume.

²⁴ *Idem*, Vol. VI, p. 22.

El templo de Diana;
Y el que en Delos adora
Al rubio sol, con semejante egemplo
Sus obras no celebre ni su templo.

No extienda, ni levante
Sus alabanzas al etéreo Polo
Caria, por su arrogante
Sepulcro de Mausolo,
Cuyo edificio y su techumbre altiva
Pende en el aire, al parecer, y estriba.

Cedan de Atlante a Batro
Mil obras dignas de memoria eterna,
Al magno anfiteatro
De Cesar, cuya fábrica moderna
Honren los tiempos, y la fama aceite
Su maravilla sola por las siete.²⁵

The pendant to this, from the same book (No. XXVIII),
was rendered as follows:

Fue Augusto en sumas honras colocado
Por su trabada lid, y la espantosa
Flota que sobre el golfo alborotado
Solicitó la trompa belicosa;
Mas fue un egemplo leve, comparado
A la naval contienda poderosa,
Do Cesar hizo, en su fingida guerra,
Del campo mar y de las ondas tierra.

Vió Tetis en el agua y Galatea,
Silvestres fieras, y su reino frio
Vió que el ferviente carro le pasea,
Y alza menudo polvo de rocío:
Triton, mientras se atiende a la pelea,
Juzga que de su reino el señorío
Rompe Neptuno, y doma su tridente
De sus caballos la cerúlea frente.

Cuanto miramos apacible y fiero
En circos y teatros populosos,
Todo concede su lugar primero

²⁵ *Idem*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

Hoy, Cesar, a tus juegos industriosos:
 No se celebren ya de Claudio y Nero
 Navales espectáculos vistosos,
 Que el tuyo solo con ilustre gloria
 Debe honrar de los siglos la memoria.²⁶

Martial's craving for a love that will inspire his verse (VIII, 73) is thus produced by Jáuregui:

Instancio, cuyo honor y cortesía
 Estimo y amo, si mi nombre y gloria
 Procuras encargar a la memoria,
 Si dar fervor y aliento a mi Talía
 Quieres, y autorizar mis versos, dame
 Que algunos ojos ame.
 De Cintia el dulce amor templó la lira
 Tuya, Propercio, cuya voz admira;
 Bastó Licoris a mover el genio
 Del noble Galo y su gallardo ingenio.
 También al docto y cándido Tibulo
 Dió eterna fama Nemesis hermosa;
 Rigió la lengua culta y numerosa
 Ya Lesbia del suavísimo Catulo.
 Así cobrando honor la musa mia
 En su feliz poesía,
 Verás, amigo, que jamas envidio
 El diestro canto de Maron y Ovidio,
 Como alcance mi cítara latina
 Su Alexis, que celebre, o su Corina.²⁷

In his *Antídoto contra las Soledades* and *Discurso poético*, he quotes several times from Martial to confirm or illustrate his own arguments. In the former he writes: "Yo confieso con mucho gusto que ha escrito Vmd. en este mundo donaires de incomparable agudeza, y por el mismo caso me lastimo de que no haya habido quien predique a Vmd. aquellos dísticos con que la Musa disuadió a Marcial cuando él quiso dejar las burlas, que aunque hoy los hiciéramos de propósito no le vinieran a Vmd. tan ajustados," and cites the latter part of the third epigram of the

²⁶ *Idem*, Vol. VI, p. 54.

²⁷ *Idem*, Vol. VI, p. 55.

eighth book.²⁸ In the *Discurso poético*, he paraphrases the first lines of X, 21 as follows: "Escribir de maner a que apenas te entienda el mismo Clarano y Modesto, ¿de qué sirve? pregunto. Alábanse en buen hora tus obras con esa obscuridad; yo querría que las mías agradasen a cualquier gramático, y sin trabajar su gramática."²⁹

Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (1581-1635) is best known as a novelist, but he also wrote a considerable amount of verse among which are numbered many epigrams. He was fond of including poetry in his prose fiction, as for example in *El caballero puntual* (1614) in which he describes the social ambitions of his protagonist, Don Juan de Toledo, which are carried almost to the point of madness. On one occasion, Don Juan is invited to a gathering of well-known poets who recite their verses. We may be sure that Salas Barbadillo had himself in mind when he described thus one of the poets: "Pero volviendo la plática a Cardenio, Marcial de nuestra edad, y no menos sutil y compendioso que el que celebró Roma, pues en dos redondillas castellanas hacía epigramas admirables, disponiendo en la primera el caso y aplicando en la segunda el conceto, le rogaron que refiriese algunos de memoria."³⁰

Cardenio shows no inclination to hide his talents for he recites to the company no less than one hundred and one epigrams. All of these conform to the description given by the author; they consist of two *redondillas*, the first of which is expository and the second contains the conceit.

A few examples must suffice to give some idea of Salas Barbadillo's skill as an epigrammatist. He describes as follows how a young husband keeps a promise made to the bride's parents:

Casó Antón con Blasa bella,
(Gerardo) y cuando casó,
A sus suegros prometió
No poner manos en ella.

²⁸ D. José Jordán de Urries y Azara, *Biografía y estudio crítico de Jáuregui*, Madrid, 1899, p. 178.

²⁹ *Idem*, p. 255.

³⁰ *Obras de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo*, ed. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1907 (*Colección de Escritores Castellanos*), Vol. II, p. III.

Mas como es villana y tiesa
 Y le hundía siempre a voces,
 Cansóse, dióla de coces,
 Y así cumplió la promesa.³¹

He ascribes to wine unexpected virtues:

A prender un tabernero
 Fuiste, Arnaldo, y él te dió
 Tanto licor, que libró
 Su cuerpo del carcelero.
 Viste luego mil candiles,
 Hablaste poco y mohino:
 No hay alguacil como el vino,
 Pues prende a los alguaciles.³²

Like Martial, he is merciless toward old women who try to appear young:

¿Para qué finges niñez,
 Anciana y sabia Lucinda,
 Pintándote hermosa y linda,
 Si está en casa la vejez?
 No pediré en tu provecho
 A Dios con ruegos extraños
 Que te guarde muchos años,
 Porque sé que ya lo ha hecho.³³

He comments cynically on a young woman who makes great pretensions to virtue but is resplendent in jewels:

Hace, don Luis, tu vecina
 Mucha fuerza en que es doncella,
 Y yo no acierto a creella
 Ni a tal mi estrella me inclina.
 Alumbra más que la esfera
 De diamantes adornada:
 Calle tan bien empedrada
 Sin duda que es pasajera.³⁴

³¹ *Idem*, Vol. II, Epigram 8, p. 114.

³² *Idem*, Vol. II, Epigram 36, p. 124.

³³ *Idem*, Vol. II, Epigram 52, p. 129.

³⁴ *Idem*, Vol. II, Epigram 64, p. 133.

When Cardenio concludes the recitation of his epigrams, someone in the audience remarks: "Dos coronas te debe España, peregrino Cardenio: la una, por ser el primero que en nuestro natural lenguaje, sin ser hurtado ni traducido, escribiste este género sutil de poesía; la otra, porque, no sólo has igualado (aunque pese a todos los gramáticos del mundo, porque sólo ellos tendrán desvergüenza para contradecir mi opinión) la gracia y donaire del sutil Marcial, pero en muchos dellos le has excedido, dando con esto confusión a los que estamos tan lejos de imitarte."³⁵

The author's claim to be the first original epigrammatist in Spanish is not, of course, borne out by fact, but it must be admitted that he showed far more originality in his epigrams than any Spanish poet of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It does not appear that a single epigram included in *El caballero puntual*, nor in the later volumes entitled *Rimas* (1618) and *Corona del Parnaso y platos de las Musas* (1635) is derived directly from Martial, although the Roman poet's critical wit is often reflected. In speaking of Cardenio's qualifications to rival Martial, the author was not quite modest. He was far from being Martial's equal, but with the single exception of Baltasar de Alcázar, he was the most original and most prolific among the older epigrammatists.

In most of his verse the Cordoban poet, Miguel Colodrero de Villalobos, shows the influence of his fellow-townsmen Góngora, but he is also the author of twenty-two epigrams included in his *Varias rimas* (1629), the inspiration for which seems to have been Martial. He himself quotes in the original Martial's plea for indulgence (II, 8).³⁶ In form his epigrams consist of two *redondillas*, like those of Salas Barbadillo, but they are often lacking in the precision and clear-cut outlines of the latter's compositions.

One indication of the serious study of Martial at this period is found in the publication in 1628 of a Spanish commentary on seventeen epigrams by Bartolomé Jiménez Patón with the

³⁵ *Idem*, Vol. II, p. 146.

³⁶ *Varias rimas de don Miguel Colodrero de Villalobos*, Córdoba, 1629, p. 166. All the epigrams are found on pp. 155-165.

title "*Declaración magistral de varios epigramas de Marcial*." This industrious teacher of Rhetoric at Villanueva de los Infantes gives further proof of an especial fondness for Martial in the numerous references made to him in his *Eloquentia Romana*, and in his *Eloquencia Española*. In discussing suspense as a rhetorical figure in the latter work, he writes: "Sustentacion (en Griego Paradojon) es una suspension de la sentencia, que se tiene de decir, la qual por similes, o por contrarios se va alargando hasta la conclusion, en la qual sale mui otra cosa de lo que se espera: como auiendo esperado una cosa mui grande concluye con una mui pequeña, o al contrario: o en una mui de veras se concluye con una mui de burlas. Quien entre los Latinos usó mas della fue Marcial . . . Siempre concluye con sentencia diferente que se espera. Marcial dixo:

Miente Zoilo quien dice eres vicioso
No eres vicioso, no, Zoilo, ni as sido
Mas por el mismo vicio conocido.³⁷

Another school-master, Diego López, also refers frequently to Martial in his *Declaracion magistral sobre las emblemas de Andres Alciato*, published at Najera in 1615.

Far more important than Diego López or Jiménez Patón is the Murcian humanist Francisco Cascales (1564-1642). Menéndez y Pelayo³⁸ has pointed out the importance of his *Tablas poéticas* (1617) in the history of Spanish literary criticism, as well as the excellence of the fragments that have been preserved of his translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. His *Cartas philológicas* (1634) are entertaining and erudite letters and essays dealing with grammatical, literary and archaeological topics. He shows a keen interest in the details of Roman life, and quotes freely and aptly from Latin poets in discussing such topics as the clothing, wedding ceremonies and bathing establishments of the Romans. It is quite natural that for this pur-

³⁷ *Mercurius Trimegistus, sive de triplici eloquentia sacra, Española, Romana*, 1621, pp.124-124v. The epigram is Martial's XI, 92.

³⁸ *Horacio en España*, Vol. I, 1885, pp. 77-80, and *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Vol. III, 1896, p. 351-363.

pose he should draw heavily upon Martial in the form of quotation, paraphrase and translation. His witty essay "*Against Red Heads*" contains a paraphrase of Martial's epigram XII, 54: "Zoilo, tú eres bermejo, mulato, coxo, vizuejo: gran milagro, si eres hombre de bien."³⁹

From the standpoint of Spanish literary history, his essays on Góngora are of especial interest. He shows by examples that the Latin poets were frequently obscure, but points out, by reference to Martial's I, 71, that apparent obscurity may become entirely clear if we understand the poet's allusions. Furthermore, he finds in Martial a parallel for Góngora's use of both an obscure and simple style.⁴⁰

Cascales also included in his volume of *Cartas philológicas* forty-four Latin epigrams which he addressed to Jiménez Patón with this explanation: "En ellos he procurado Marcializar, sino con su agudeza, con menos lascivia, que aunque esta es propia de los epigrammatarios, no se nos concede tanto a los que professamos Musas Christianas."⁴¹ The only one of these epigrams directly based on Martial is the fifteenth which derives its inspiration from the first of *De Spectaculis Liber*. The others are unquestionably influenced by Martial but it is impossible to point out the exact original ones to which they are related. No. X, *In Titum*, bears a slight resemblance to Martial's I, 103. Cascales follows Martial in satirizing doctors, grammarians, etc. and has done a good piece of work, showing how well he knew his Latin.⁴²

³⁹ *Cartas philológicas*, Madrid, 1779, p. 112.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, p. 97.

⁴¹ *Idem*, p. 224.

⁴² Through the kindness of Don Rafael Martínez of the Centro de Estudios Históricos, we were able to obtain some information about the three manuscripts on Martial mentioned by Gallardo in the second volume of his *Ensayo*, p. 99, which are in the Biblioteca Nacional de España. The first (H, 40, p. 18) is thus described: "*Es una colección de noticias, copias de cartas, informes de embajadores y papeles varios, con dos numeraciones distintas. En la vieja Varios Epigramas de Marcial ocupan los folios 18-26v, faltando los folios 21y 22 . . . Anónimo. No van numerados los epigramas.*"

The second (M, III) is described as follows: "*Letra del siglo XVII; no puede identificarse el autor, pues para ello no hay mas dato que lo que él mismo dice en el folio Iv: 'Mi intento fué divertir una melancolia procedida del agrabio que es bien notorio a los mas ignorantes.'* Consta de 157 folios numerados, y 16 al fin sin numerar." As an example of his work, we find the following translation of Martial's I, 19 on folio IIv:

Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647) was both a folklorist and humanist, and just as Juan de Mal-Lara sought to relate popular Spanish proverbs with classical antecedents, Caro attempted to find sources or analogies in Latin literature for popular Spanish customs and games. In discussing these relationships he drew upon Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Juvenal, Catullus and other classical writers, but it was Martial who was especially helpful.

In the first dialogue he discusses the similarity between bull fighting as practiced in Rome and in Spain and illustrates his remarks by giving a spirited translation of Martial's V, 31 :

Mira como la ociosa muchedumbre
 El retozón novillo está lidiando;
 Uno verás del cuerno estar colgando
 Del toro, que ama ya su pesadumbre;
 Otro al ijar, por gusto o por costumbre,
 Salta y anda corriendo, y ya bailando,
 En todo el buey las armas ventilando
 Que volvió su fiereza en mansedumbre.
 Libre el mozuelo burla el lomo duro
 Del toro más audaz, que en el arena
 Ni le tiemblan los pies; ¿quién tal creyera?
 Que un niño en el peligro esté seguro,
 Y que una fiera, de piedad ajena,
 Cuidadosa y solfcita estuviera.⁴³

With a translation of the nineteenth epigram of the Spectacles,

Si bien me acuerdo tubiste
 quatro dientes y los dos
 escupiste de una tos
 y de otra dos escupiste.
 Segura puedes toser
 Elia, quantos dias ubieres
 sin tener quando tosieres
 la tercera tos que hacer.

The third mss. (V, 125) is described: "*Contiene varios trabajos sobre comentarios biblicos, y las Declaraciones de Marcial, que ocupan los folios 1-21v. Todo ello es obra de Don Manuel Sarmiento de Mendoza, Canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla . . .*"

⁴³ *Días geniales o lúdicos*, Sevilla, 1884, p. 35.

he shows that the Romans goaded the bull to fury by the use of fire as was done in Spain.⁴⁴

In speaking of games of ball, he quotes admiringly Martial's X, 86 with its witty pun on the word *pila*, and offers apologetically this translation:

Ningun amante se ardió
De nueva amiga en el fuego,
Cuanto Lauro, mozo, el Juego
De pelota ciego amó:
Fué quien más diestro jugó
El juego de la pelota;
Hasta que con capa rota
Hecho dominguillo acaba,
Y en pelota se quedaba
Cuando dejó la pelota.⁴⁵

These may serve as examples of the fifteen translations from Martial made by Rodrigo Caro to illustrate his text. Two epigrams (XIV, 164 and 173) are combined into one describing the discus throw; another (V, 84) is drawn upon in part to show that Roman like Spanish boys, return to school without enthusiasm; and other compositions of Martial were translated, wholly or in part, to explain the origin of various Spanish games.

Caro also made a similar use of Ausonius. In discussing children's games in the second dialogue of *Días geniales* he translates part of the fourth Idyl, and in the fifth dialogue he explains the phrase *darse grita* by referring to lines 163-167 of the *Mosela* of Ausonius which he translates. Finally, à propos of cradle-songs, described in the sixth dialogue, he renders into Spanish six lines (88-93) of the twelfth epistle of Ausonius. Three translations from the latter are also found in his *Antigüedades de Sevilla* (1634).

It was to the learned Rodrigo Caro that the Licentiate Juan de Robles (1574-1649) sent the manuscript of his *Primera parte del Culto sevillano* for an opinion regarding its merit.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, pp. 35-6.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, pp. 37-38.

Permission to print was granted in the year 1631, but it remained in manuscript until its publication in 1883 by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces.

The *Culto sevillano* consists of five dialogues in prose and verse in which are set forth the principles of rhetoric. In the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo: "Es la mejor escrita de todas las retóricas castellanas; pero no merece tanto encomio por la novedad de la doctrina. Lo que más la avalora es el buen juicio constante, la claridad del método, la hermosura del lenguaje, la viveza del diálogo y las curiosas noticias de historia literaria."⁴⁶

In order to illustrate his arguments, Robles quotes and translates frequently from the Latin poets, showing a marked preference for Horace. On only three occasions he makes use of Martial. The first of these examples is a version of II, 20, found in the third dialogue. In discussing obscurity, Robles declares: "El modo último de esta oscuridad es anfibología, cuando se ponen palabras o modos de decir que pueden tener dos sentidos; como: este libro es mio; en que se puede entender ser mio por haberle compuesto, o por haberle comprado: de que sacó Marcial una agudeza en que dice:

Carmina Paulus emit, recitat sua carmina Paulus.
nam quod emas possis iure vocare tuum.

Compró Paulo unos versos;
Recítalos por suyos a diversos,
Y con mucha razon (según arguyo),
Porque lo que has comprado,
Con derecho y razon está fundado
Que puedas tú decir que aquello es tuyo.⁴⁷

As an illustration of a sudden change from one thing to the opposite Martial's epigram VI, 51 is translated in the same dialogue as:

⁴⁶ *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1896, Vol. III, p. 381, note 2.

⁴⁷ *El Culto sevillano*, Sevilla, 1883, p. 170.

Yo he hallado, Lupercio, un modo agudo
 De meterte a tí en costa y de vengarme,
 Porque has dado en hacer, sin convidarme,
 Espléndidos banquetes a menudo:
 Y es, encolerizarme muy de veras,
 Y cuando importunarme despues quieras
 Con recaudos con uno y otro ruego,
 Dirasme: "¿Que has de hacer?—¿Que? venir luego."⁴⁸

The fourth dialogue discusses *oración acomodada*, and Robles says "Hay gravedad fingida, con que se realizan conceptos humildes tratándose con grandeza; como fingir una guerra de mosquitos y hormigas, y escribirla, como Virgilio de la de Eneas y Turno, con amplificaciones y digresiones y descripciones y otras cosas semejantes, y mezclando fábulas y historias. Esto, si se hace por mostrar ingenio, es de estimar en su género como el Mosquito de Virgilio; mas si se hace pensando que conviene o que se puede hacer, como lo hace Marcial de Postumo, un abogado a quien escribe este epigrama:

Yo no litigo de ninguna suerte
 Por violencia ninguna ni por muerte,
 Ni porque hombre ninguno malo o bueno
 Matarme haya querido con veneno;
 Por tres cabras tan sólo me querello,
 Las cuales imagino
 Que debió de hurtarme algun vecino,
 Y sólo pide el juez la prueba dello.
 Mas tú, con tu boato hueco y vano
 Y hablando de mano,
 Tratas la rota mísera de Cannas
 Y la guerra cruel de Mitridates,
 Y los perjurios (entre mil dislates)
 Del furor de las armas africanas.
 Póstumo, amigo, ahorra de palabras,
 Y acaba de tratar de mis tres cabras.

Ese abogado debió de tener pocos pleitos, y deseaba acomodar

⁴⁸ *Idem*, pp. 204-5.

essas cosas que sabía; y así, las acomodó en el primero que se le ofreció, por no perder ocasion."⁴⁹

Further proof of the popularity of Martial in the early seventeenth century is found in the appearance of two of his epigrams in three comedies by the famous dramatist Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1580?-1639), who suffered much himself from epigrams directed against him by envious and spiteful poets. In the second act of *Las paredes oyen*, Don Juan confides to Beltrán, his valet, the plan he has conceived to win the love of Dona Aña. Realizing that his rival, Don Mendo, is in a strong position, Don Juan proposes to encourage so far as possible the courtship of the lady by another suitor, in the hope that when she hesitates to choose between them, he himself may be able to step in and carry off the prize. The witty Beltrán, who shows the result of his studies by various allusions to Roman history and mythology and by citations from classical authors, does not approve of his master's plan, and observes:

El epigrama que a Fanio
Hizo Marcial, viene a pelo.

Don Juan asks what he means, and Beltrán continues:

Traducido,
Dice así en lenguaje nuestro:
"Queriendo Fanio huir
Sus contrarios, se mató."
No es furor, pregunto yo,
Para no morir, morir?⁵⁰

This is a close translation of Martial's II, 80, and is à propos, although Don Juan denies its application:

Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit.
hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?

It is again to a valet, proud of his book-learning, that Alarcón

⁴⁹ *Idem*, pp. 238-9. The epigram is VI, 19.

⁵⁰ Second act, second scene, lines 1310-17.

entrusts another citation from Martial in *La verdad sospechosa*. In the third scene of the third act, Don García asks his lackey whether Lucrecia had accepted his letter, and Tristán replies:

Sí;
Aunque a Camino mandó
que diga que lo rompió,
que él lo ha fiado de mí.
Y pues lo admitió, no mal
Se negocia tu deseo,
Si aquel epigrama creo
Que a Nebia escribió Marcial:
"Escribí, no respondió
Nebia; luego dura está;
Mas ella se ablandará,
Pues lo que escribí leyó."

This is a graceful translation of Martial's epigram (II, 9):

Scripti; rescripsit nil Naevia; non dabit ergo.
sed puto quod scripsi legerat: ergo dabit.

The same epigram, with slight differences in the translation, is found in the ninth scene of the second act of Alarcón's *No hay mal que por bien no venga*.

Like Salas Barbadillo, Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina (1607?-1640) reflects the spirit of Martial without showing evidence of direct translation. His epigrams are found in the volume of verse entitled *El buen humor de las Musas*, printed in 1637 but licensed for printing as early as 1630. He follows Martial in his mockery of old persons who ape youth:

A una vieja que ignorava
Quinze lustros que tenia,
Y un mondadientes llevaba
(Aunque sin ellos estava)
Un galan le dixo un día:
"Dexa los impertinentes
Modos de engañar las gentes,
Con que mientes desengaños,

Clenarda, porque tus años
Son el mejor mondadientes. ⁵¹

Another epigram recalls Lazarillo's third master, the *caballero* who was nearly starving to death but made a brave show by walking out of the house after meals with a toothpick in his mouth:

¿Tú piensas que nos desmientes
Con el palillo pulido,
Con que sin aver comido,
Tristán, te limpias los dientes?
Pero la hambre cruel
Da en comerte, y en picarte,
De suerte, que no es limpiarte,
Sino rascarte con él. ⁵²

The following epigram gives a good idea of his wit:

Entré, Lauro, en tu jardín,
Y vi una dama, o Luzero,
Y una vieja, o Cancerbero,
Que es su guarda, y mastin.
Es todo tan excelente,
Que me pareció el vergel
Que Adán perdió, viendo en él
Fruta, flor, Eva, y serpiente. ⁵³

A long nose amused him as it did Martial and so many other epigrammatists:

Tu nariz, con calidad,
Es por su naturaleza,
Símbolo de la largueza,
Cifra de la inmensidad.
Primero que tú, Beatriz,
Sale siempre de tu casa,
Y tan adelante passa,
Que ya passa de nariz. ⁵⁴

⁵¹ *El buen humor de las Musas*, printed in *Obras en prosa y verso de Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina*, Zaragoza, 1670, p. 119.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

The following is considered one of his best epigrams:

Vió a una mulata murciana
 Un hombre, assomada un día
 A un esconce, que servia
 De chimenea y ventana.
 Ella se le quexa, viendo
 Que no le habla, corrida,
 Por ser dél tan conocida,
 Y él se disculpó diciendo:
 —Que passe, mire, y te vea
 Sin hablar, no es mucho, Clara;
 Que entendí que era tu cara
 Humo dessa chimenea.⁵⁵

Don Francisco de Borja y Aragón (1581-1658), Prince of Esquilache, occupied a position in Spanish society, letters and government circles similar to that held by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza a half century earlier. A grandson of San Francisco de Borja, he was descended from some of the noblest families in Spain, and married at the age of twenty-one Doña Ana de Borja, Princess of Esquilache (Squilacce). Appointed Viceroy of Peru in 1614, he held that post until his return to Spain in 1621 on hearing the news of the death of Philip III. While he occupied no important public offices during the reign of the Conde-Duque de Olivares, he was a prominent figure at Court as a poet and patron of poets until his death in the year 1658.

His lyric poetry was probably first published at Madrid⁵⁶ in 1648, and additional verses were included in the editions of 1654 and 1663. Although he was not born in Aragon, and spent most of his life in Madrid, there are good grounds for classifying the Prince of Esquilache with the Aragonese poets, as has frequently been done. The similarity of his verse to that of his friend Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola is particularly striking. The Odes and Satires of Horace had largely determined the intellectual outlook of both men. Although the Prince

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵⁶ For evidence regarding an edition of 1639, see *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá*, Valencia, 1872, Vol. I, No. 592.

of Esquilache translated only one of the odes, their influence is clearly seen in a number of his lyrical compositions, and the Horatian tone also appears at times in his satirical epistles.

It must be confessed that the twenty-odd brief compositions of epigrammatic character constitute an insignificant part of his rather copious literary production, but they are of interest to us here as offering further examples of interest in Martial. Three of these may be classified as direct translations. The first reproduces Martial's VIII, 22 directed against Gallicus who had invited the poet to a boar dinner, and had served only pork:

Galico, aquel Javali,
A que bine combidado,
Si genizaro nací,
Aunque en puerco sea trocado,
No es engaño para mí.⁵⁷

The second is a version of Martial's XIV, 75 on Philomela:

El incesto de Tereo
Llora triste Filomena
Y la que niña fue muda,
Dizen, que es aue parlara.⁵⁸

The third (I, 19) describes the consumptive Aelia and the loss of her teeth, which had already been translated by Mal-Lara and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola:

Si bien me acuerdo, los dos
De quatro dientes, que halló,
Elia, una tos te llevó,
Y los dos, segunda tos.
Sin rezelo podrás ya
Todos los dias tosser,
Pues, Elia, nada que hazer
La tercera tos tendrá.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ 1654 edition, p. 394.

⁵⁸ *Idem*, p. 396.

⁵⁹ *Idem*, p. 396.

In a few other cases, the influence of Martial is evident. The following, which is entitled "*A una dama que siendo mayor en años, presumía de hermosura,*" recalls Martial's epigrams on Fabulla and Afra (I, 64, VIII, 79, and I, 100):

Para juzgar, que es tan bella
Lucinda, como solía,
No passa por ella día;
Todos se quedan en ella.⁶⁰

Esquilache's Lesbia, who buried four husbands, is a twin sister of Martial's Chloe (IX, 15) who put away seven:

Lesbia en la Iglesia se entró
Porque esta losa la oculte:
Quatro esposos enterró;
Y es razon que los sepulte,
Si ella fue quien los mató.⁶¹

The following entitled "*A un hombre a quien embió cien reales,*" etc. seems to have been suggested by Martial's I, 75:

Cien reales os presento;
Y es razon en esta cuenta,
Que vos perdeis los cincuenta,
Pues que yo pierdo los ciento.⁶²

Among the remaining epigrams of the Prince of Esquilache, the one on Dido⁶³ is translated from Ausonius,⁶⁴ and another⁶⁵ is one of the many Spanish versions of Falcó's epigram on the birth of Cupid that begins "*Alma Venus praegnans.*"⁶⁶

In the *Carta a Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, the Prince wrote:

⁶⁰ *Idem*, p. 394.

⁶¹ *Idem*, p. 394.

⁶² *Idem*, p. 395.

⁶³ *Idem*, p. 394.

⁶⁴ Loeb edition, Appendix to Ausonius, Vol. II, No. VIII, p. 288.

⁶⁵ 1648 edition of Esquilache, p. 411.

⁶⁶ See p. 22-23, Note 18.

Queriendo proseguir, llegó un amigo,
Y dixo: ¿Los Poetas no podían
Lleuar a bueltas destos su castigo?
Con Marcial respondí: Dicha tendrían;
Mas libre Dios mi libro desta sarna,
Aunque ellos merecido le tenían.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ 1654 edition, p. 396.

III

BALTASAR GRACIÁN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Baltasar Gracián y Morales (1601-1658) is known chiefly as the author of *El Criticón*, the best philosophical novel of Spanish literature, and of other important works such as *El Héroe*, *El Político*, *El Discreto* and the *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*, in which he reflects with concise elegance many of the ideals of his age. His *Arte de ingenio* (1642), or *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* as it was called in a second edition (1648), seems to have been regarded by his contemporaries as his most significant production, although it is now read only by specialists engaged in the study of one of the literary fashions of the seventeenth century.

To Gracián, as to many of his contemporaries at home and abroad, the highest form of literary expression consisted in an elegant display of wit. Throughout the seventeenth century in Spain, originality of thought was subordinated to cleverness in diction, and banality was taboo to those who sought to deserve the attention of cultured readers. The neologisms and tortured syntax of Góngora represent the determined effort of the poet to avoid the commonplace, and the same objective is seen in the "Angel of Cordova's" deft use of subtle conceits, often extravagantly over-elaborated, which were paralleled in verse by Alonso de Ledesma, and in prose by Paravicino.

Gracián's *Arte de ingenio* was written too late to have a determining influence upon the rise of the conceptist fashion, and its chief interest lies in the fact that in it Gracián attempted the difficult task of analyzing and classifying the various forms of wit that were held in high esteem at the Court of Philip IV. His materials were drawn from diverse sources. Among the classical writers he quotes most frequently from Martial, Seneca and the younger Pliny. Church Fathers such as St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Ambrose occupy an important place, especially in the earlier discourses, while Padre Jerónimo de Florencia, Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino and many of his brethren

of the Jesuit Society, often quoted anonymously in the first edition of the *Arte de Ingenio*, furnish excellent examples of the use of conceits in pulpit oratory. Among the poets prior to his own day he quotes most frequently from Montemayor and Juan Rufo, while among his own contemporaries he seems to have valued most highly the wit of Góngora, Antonio de Mendoza, Lope de Vega and Alonso de Ledesma.

The limited scope of the present study makes it impossible to present here an intensive analysis of the *Arte de Ingenio*,¹ with the complex question of its sources. For our purpose it must be sufficient to stress the importance of Martial in the eyes of this legislator of the conceptists, and by so doing we hope to explain why the Latin epigrammatist was considered so closely akin, intellectually and stylistically, to many of the seventeenth-century Spanish writers.

In his forty-second Discourse² Gracián speaks as follows of the type of subtlety of expression or wit which he regarded as characteristic of Spaniards: "En España siempre huuo libertad de Ingenio, o por grauedad, o por colera de la nacion, que no por falta de inuentiua. Sus dos Primipilos, Seneca en lo juizioso, y Marcial en lo agudo, fundaron esta opinion, acreditaron este gusto . . . Tributo nuestra Bilbilis a la gran Emperatriz del Orbe, no monstruos como el Africa, sino al que lo fue de la Agudeza y cultura. Entró Marcial en Roma, destinado a la oratoria, mas su estremada prontitud, no sufriendo piguelas de encadenada eloquencia, se remontó libre en tantas puntas de Agudeza, quantos se eternizan Epigramas. Quedó vinculado este acierto en esta gran Prouincia, hermosa cara del mundo; y nunca más valido que en este feraz siglo de Ingenios, discurriendo todos a lo libre, assi en lo sacro, como en lo profano." Elsewhere,³ in speaking of various writers who excelled in conceits, he says in typical conceptist style: "Entre los Poetas, Marcial fue tan agudo uniuersal, que las musas, leidos sus catorce libros, en lugar del vulgar Finis pusieron Fenis."

¹ See M. Adolphe Coster, *Baltasar Gracián, Revue Hispanique*, Vol. xxix 1913, pp. 573-649, or Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ideas estéticas en España*, Vol. III pp. 520-527.

² *Arte de Ingenio*, f. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 150.

El Arte de ingenio contains fifty-seven quotations from Martial, a larger number than from any other writer. It would seem useless to mention all of these, together with his comments upon them, and therefore only the most representative are here quoted.

In discussing conceits based upon correspondence of terms he cites I, 47 on Diaulus,⁴ who after practicing medicine, became an undertaker. Wit involving correspondence of places is illustrated by IV, 32 which describes how a bee was rewarded for its sweet labors by burial in a drop of amber.

In the fifth Discourse, he gathers together conceits based upon disproportion and quotes VIII, 6 with the following paraphrase:⁵ "Blasonaua uno la antigüedad de sus vasos, diciendo que unos eran de Nestor, otros de Laomedonte, y del rey Priamo; pero despues les daua en las taças de mil años un vino de ocho dias. Basta, dixo, que en los vasos del abuelo Priamo nos das a beuer el niño Astianacta su nieto." On place correspondence, we are told, Martial based a marvel of wit: "Ponderó las muertes de los tres Pompeyos en las tres partes del mundo, el Padre en Africa, y los dos hijos en Asia, y en Europa, y dió esta ingeniosa salida. No cabia una ruina tan grande en un solo lugar, y assi se repartió por todas las tres partes, entonces, del uniuerso."⁷ This is followed by the text of V, 74 which was first translated into Spanish by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

Among the conflicting conceits (*agudezas de reparo*) mentioned in the seventh Discourse, he quotes two examples from Martial of the effective use of antithesis. The first of these is V, 43, upon which he comments: "Assi Marcial reparando en que Thays iouen tenia muy negros los dientes, y Lecania viexa, mui blancos, dio la razon diciendo, es que los desta son comprados, los de aquella propios."⁸ The other example is X, 13, of which he writes: "Ingeniosamente Marcial de un hombre rico y poderoso, que siempre estaua triste y suspirando, dixo: A este

⁴ *Ibid.*, Discurso IV, f. 8v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 16v.

⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 19.

⁸ *Idem*, f. 24v.

de puro bien, le va mal.”⁹ Antithesis is again the basis of III, 43 directed to Laetinus who dyed his hair in order to appear young.

The fourteenth Discourse includes conceits based upon parity, of which Gracián finds three examples in Martial. In the first of these (I, 6) the Emperor’s lion is compared with Jupiter’s eagle.¹⁰ The second is the thirteenth epigram of the Book on the Spectacles in which the birth of Bacchus is compared to that of a suckling whose mother was stricken in the arena. In the third (III, 66) the death of Pompey at the hands of Pothinus is compared with the death of Cicero at the hands of Antony. Among the conceits based upon disparity, he quotes Martial’s I, 62 on Laevina who, after leading a chaste life, became an adulteress, as if Penelope were transformed into Helen.

The sixteenth Discourse deals with *transmutaciones* or conceits that involve a complete transformation of idea. He illustrates this by quoting Martial’s query to Antony after the murder of Cicero: “What advantage is there in silencing that tongue if all men will begin to speak for Cicero?”¹¹ He also quotes Martial’s statement¹² that, instead of the Fates, the fair Julia should spin the life-thread for Domitian’s son, and from the Golden Fleece (VI, 3).

The seventeenth Discourse, which discusses conceits that involve exaggeration, is particularly indebted to Martial for examples. We are told that Martial used this form of wit in saying that Andragoras had died suddenly after dreaming of Dr. Hermocrates.¹³ He employed the same device in describing a tiger in the amphitheatre which had learned cruelty from men.¹⁴ An example of alternating and conflicting exaggeration is found in Martial’s VII, 83, which is translated as follows, presumably by Gracián himself:

⁹ *Idem*, f. 25.

¹⁰ *Idem*, f. 39.

¹¹ *Idem*, f. 47; Martial’s epigram V, 69.

¹² *Idem*, f. 47v.

¹³ *Idem*, f. 49-49v: Martial’s epigram VI, 53.

¹⁴ *Idem*, f. 50; De Spectaculis xviii.

Quando el eterno Eutrapelo
 A Lupercio bien barbado,
 Quita la barba de un lado,
 Ya ha nacido en este el pelo.¹⁵

After paraphrasing Martial's description of the havoc wrought by the eruption of Vesuvius,¹⁶ he adds: "Pególe fuego un rayo, y despues de abrasado hizo gran llanto el cielo, si fue llorar el llouer," in which Gracián out-conceited Martial himself for this idea is not found in the Latin text. As other examples of conceits involving exaggeration, he quotes the epigram on Claudia's inordinate height (VIII, 60) and the thirteenth of the first book in which the chaste Arria says that her self-inflicted wound gives her no pain, but that her husband's refusal to believe in her virtue will cause her pain.¹⁷

In the nineteenth Discourse he discusses *crysis maliciosas* (tart conceits), and quotes Martial's VII, 25 to explain what he means by the term, adding that Martial is a master of this type of wit and verse.¹⁸ We need not wonder, then, that most of the illustrations found in this Discourse are drawn from Martial. He paraphrases VIII, 79 which describes Fabulla who always surrounded herself with old or homely companions so that she might shine by contrast.¹⁹ He also cites the case of Gellius who is always making repairs to his house so that he may have an excuse not to lend money to his friends.²⁰

Gracián tells us that Martial was a master of *crysis irrisorias* (humorous conceits) and quotes several examples. Gellia considered herself too good to marry anyone below the rank of Senator, but finally accepted a *cistifer* as husband.²¹ Gracián further illustrates humorous conceits by Martial's epigram (I, 75) on the man who preferred to give a friend half the amount

¹⁵ *Idem*, f. 51.

¹⁶ *Idem*, f. 52; Martial's epigram IV, 44.

¹⁷ *Idem*, f. 53v.

¹⁸ *Idem*, f. 56v.

¹⁹ *Idem*, f. 57v.

²⁰ *Idem*, f. 58; Martial's epigram IX, 46.

²¹ *Idem*, f. 60; Martial's epigram V, 17. Gracián translates by *cestero* the word *cistifer* which is usually translated "box-carrier" or "priest" or "Jew". In the edition of 1648 the word *esportillero* is used. See p. 28, where there is an earlier translation of the epigram by Mal-Lara.

he sought to borrow rather than to lose the whole amount by lending it to him.²²

The *crysis juiciosas* (conceits with a basis of good sense) of the twenty-first Discourse are illustrated by two of Martial's epigrams. The first of these (V, 81) concludes cynically that wealth falls only to the lot of the rich,²³ and the second (II, 13) is Martial's advice to a debtor to pay his creditor instead of his counsel and the judge.²⁴

Gracián draws chiefly upon Martial for illustrative material in his twenty-sixth Discourse dealing with *equivocos* (play on words). In I, 79 Martial bids Attalus do something for himself since he spends all his time doing something for someone.²⁵ In VI, 12 he asks whether Fabulla swears falsely when she swears that the hair she buys is hers. He quotes²⁶ Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's translation of IX, 15 on Chloe who had buried seven husbands²⁷ and paraphrases III, 13 with its play on the word *crudus*.

The only literary example used in the twenty-eighth Discourse dealing with *agudeza por desempeño en el dicho* (an apt reply) is drawn from Martial III, 61. Cinna used to say that it was nothing in asking for a favor, and the poet promises to deny him nothing if he asks for nothing.

Most of the illustrations found in the twenty-ninth Discourse on *conceptos por retorsion* (conceits in repartee) are also taken from Martial. In I, 110, Velox complained that Martial wrote long epigrams, and the poet replied that Velox's were shorter since he wrote nothing.²⁸ He likewise quotes Martial's reply to Callistratus (V, 13) who had made fun of the poet's poverty.

In the thirty-second Discourse on *conceptos por alusion* (con-

²² *Idem*, f. 62.

²³ *Idem*, f. 63.

²⁴ *Idem*, f. 63v.

²⁵ *Idem*, f. 75v.-76.

²⁶ *Idem*, f. 76v.

²⁷ See p. 45.

²⁸ *Arte de ingenio*, f. 81.

ceits with veiled meaning), Gracián says that many of Martial's epigrams were condemned by ignorant people who could not understand them, and cites as an example VI, 69 on the sobriety of Catullus and the drunkenness of Bassa. He also translated as follows II, 58 in which the poet says that Zoilus may laugh at his threadbare clothes, but reminds him that they are his own:

Zoilo, que con capa buena
Desprecias la mia mala,
Mira que aunque no es de gala,
Por lo menos no es agena.²⁹

In the thirty-fourth Discourse on *conceptos por cuestión* (conceits in form of question), he cites Jaime Falcó's well-known epigram beginning *Alma Venus praegnans*, Mathieu de Vendôme's epigram on the hermaphrodite,³⁰ Martial's IX, 12 on proper names derived from names of the months, and Scaliger's epigram on Venus armed.

As an example of a ready and witty answer in the thirty-fifth Discourse on *respuestas prontas ingeniosas*, he translates VIII, 12 with Martial's reply to the question why he did not wish to marry a rich woman:

Prisco, ¿por que no me caso,
Dizes, con rica muger?
Porque no quiero yo ser
La muger, y esse es el caso.³¹

Among the *conceptos en que se da una razon sutil a un dicho o hecho disonante* of the thirty-ninth Discourse, he quotes II, 3 and adds the following translation by "a modern poet who had translated much of Martial":

²⁹ *Idem*, f. 88v. The attribution of this translation to Manuel Salinas in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XLII, p. 565, is probably an error.

³⁰ J. P. W. Crawford, *El horóscopo del hijo del rey Alcaraz en el "Libro de buen amor"*, *Revista de Filología española*, 1925, Vol. XII, pp. 184-190. See p. 22-23, Note 18.

³¹ Baltasar Gracián, *op. cit.*, f. 98v.

Yo te quiero confessar,
Que no eres quien debes, no,
Sexto, pues solo debio,
Aquel que pudo pagar.³²

He also cites VIII, 17 in which Sextus refused to pay Martial a counsel's fee for a case that was lost, but the poet claimed even more because of his shame.

It would seem that sufficient evidence has been presented to show that Martial was one of Gracián's favorite authors, and that he found in him precisely the form of wit that was held in such high esteem in courtly circles throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. Arturo Farinelli sums up as follows his estimate of Gracián as a stylist: "Es maestro inimitable del chiste, de la agudeza, de lo picante y salado, y, sin excepción alguna, el escritor más lacónico de España. Lo bueno si breve, dos veces bueno. En esto es el sucesor más digno de Marcial en su patria."³³ And a little later in the same critical essay, he writes: "En lo epigramático y sentencioso, nadie ha llegado a la perfección de Gracián. Su laconismo obstinado le hace caer en el enigmático y pecar de falta de claridad y de arreglo en la forma."³⁴ If we accept this opinion of a distinguished critic, it may not be unwarranted to ascribe to Martial the determining influence in the formation of Gracián's style.

As has already been stated, the *Arte de ingenio* was published in a second and amplified version in 1648,³⁵ and the relationship of this to the first edition has been studied by M. A. Coster.³⁶ Besides the change in title, the second edition contained sixty-three Discourses instead of fifty, which is largely accounted for by the inclusion of a discussion of complex conceits, and other important additions were made. It is supposed that through the intervention of his friend Lastanosa, Gracián was induced,

³² *Idem*, f. 109.

³³ Baltasar Gracián-El Héroe y El Discreto con un estudio crítico por Arturo Farinelli, Madrid, 1900, pp. 240-241.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³⁵ *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio, en que se explican todos los modos, y diferencias de Conceptos . . . Ilústrala el Doctor Don Manuel de Salinas y Lizana, . . . con segundas traducciones de los Epigramas de Marcial*, Huesca, 1648.

³⁶ Baltasar Gracián, 1601-1658, *Revue Hispanique* (1913), Vol. xxix, pp. 622-3.

rather unwillingly, to include in the second version a number of Spanish translations of Martial which had been made by the Canon Manuel Salinas y Lizana, and in order to minimize their importance, the author augmented considerably the number of quotations of conceptist verse, choosing these for the most part from Aragonese poets. He also decided to mention by name the Jesuit preachers who were cited anonymously in the first edition.

It would take us too far afield to make a thorough study of the differences that exist between the two editions³⁷ with respect to the theories of Gracián and his choice of illustrative material. A few additional quotations from Martial are included; less attention is devoted to earlier Spanish poets, and increased importance is given to his own contemporaries, and especially the poets of Aragon. Marino takes a place beside Guarini as the spokesmen for conceptism in Italy.

Furthermore, the number of translations from Latin epigrammatists, both classical and neo-classical, is greatly increased in the second edition by the inclusion of many compositions of Canon Manuel Salinas. We are not sure what Gracián's motives were in making use of these translations which according to his own statement were ready for the press (f.17), but in my opinion, they add to the interest of the volume. There are few that show real inspiration, and some are mediocre, but in general they are adequate. Salinas must have been in close contact with Gracián during the period of the revision of the first edition of the *Arte de Ingenio* for the translations of the various neo-Latin compositions were apparently made by Salinas with the definite purpose of being included in the second edition. Later the relations of these two friends became very strained. In 1651, Salinas wrote a poem called *La casta Susana* in Spanish and also a romance in Latin, both of which were severely criticized by Gracián. The entire story of the dispute has been studied by M. A. Coster.³⁸

³⁷ *Idem*, pp. 622-3.

³⁸ *Idem*, pp. 418-420. The actual correspondence relating to the quarrel is found on pp. 720-727.

A list of all the translations of Martial made by Salinas will be given in the *Appendix*, and only a few, which seem to have some special interest, will be presented here.

To the conceits based upon disproportion discussed in the fifth Discourse Gracián added in his revision Martial's II, 80 of which we have this "sucinta, pero elegante traducción" by Salinas:

Fannio ansioso por huir
Del que su muerte procura,
Se mató, ¿no es gran locura,
Matarse por no morir?³⁹

Salinas is most successful when he can pour Martial's thought into a *redondilla*. When he allows himself to be discursive, as in his translation of the well-known epigram (V, 74) on the death of Pompey, the result is far less satisfactory:

Los dos Pompeyos del mayor Romano
Hijos, a Europa, y Asia dividieron
Sus cenizas; y allí donde se vieron
Triunfar, cedieron a enemiga mano.
Las arenas que baña el Africano
Nilo, sepulcro al gran Pompeyo fueron,
Si es que al Cielo los Dioses no subieron,
Del divino valor asombro humano.
Las tres partes del mundo sujetadas,
Por su valor, por su saber profundo,
Por tumulto la Parca les destina.
Prodigio grande (¡oh, suertes desdichadas!)
Porque menor lugar, que todo un mundo
Capaz no fuera de tan gran ruina.⁴⁰

As an example of a striking antithesis Gracián added in the second edition Martial's VIII, 4 which coincided admirably with the seventeenth-century idea of a conceit, and which was translated as follows by Salinas:

³⁹ *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, Madrid, 1773, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, pp. 40-1.

Quantos el Pueblo Romano
Cumple en sus aras, y ofrece
Nuevos votos, los merece
Tu vista, gran Domiciano:
Y no juzgues solo humano
Este gozo en tu venida,
Que aun la imagino aplaudida
De los Dioses mas supremos,
Puesto que en el Cielo vemos
Tanta llama esclarecida.⁴¹

In the ninth Discourse dealing with conceit based upon similarity, he added as a fitting illustration Martial's IX, 81 which Salinas translated thus:

Aulo, si el Letor, y oyente
Ap'auden mis poësias,
Poco importa que por frias,
Las condene el maldiciente:
De un mal Poëta no siente
Mi Musa el diente severo,
Que si combido, mas quiero,
Que los platos sazonados
Den gusto a los combidados,
Que no al mismo cocinero.⁴²

In the eleventh Discourse, Gracián introduced a new epigram of Martial (IV, 59), which he presents in these words: "Dos contingencias pondera Marcial en este valiente Epigrama, una en el sugeto, otra en el termino asimilado. Quedó una Vivora sepultada en la goma de los alamos, llamada electro. Huyendo Cleopatra a Egypto, se encerró en el precioso sepulcro, que ella habia fabricado, donde acabó, y no hallaron en él sino una Vivora: glosa el Poeta entrambas contingencias, y concluye con la maliciosa semejanza, entre la ponzoñosa Vivora, y Cleopatra. Traduxolo con la acostumbrada propiedad Don Manuel Salinas, y dixo:

⁴¹ *Idem*, p. 50.

⁴² *Idem*, p. 59.

Junto a un alamo pasaba
 Una Vivora, en sazon,
 Que al infeliz Faeton
 Su triste hermana lloraba.
 Elóla el precioso llanto,
 Y mientras admira el ver,
 Que la puede detener,
 Se halló presa con espanto.
 De electro puro su suerte
 El sepulcro la labró,
 Donde viva se enterró,
 Para hacer feliz su muerte.
 Viva tambien te metiste,
 Cleopatra, en sepulcro real,
 Huyendo el riesgo fatal
 Donde a Vivora te diste.
 Pero no por mas dichoso
 Juzgues tu fin desdichado,
 Si una Vivora ha llegado
 A tumulto mas precioso.⁴³

It will be noted that Salinas added conceits to those already found in Martial's epigram which in itself might well pass for a composition of Góngora written at one of his darkest moments.

Martial's VI,28, included in the twenty-ninth Discourse as an example of a sententious conceit, was freely translated by Salinas in a manner that recalls conceptist epitaphs of Góngora:

Esta pira que admiras erigida,
 No es de algun plebeyo monumento,
 Ni de esclavo infeliz, que su avariento
 Dueño encerró en mazmorra foragida.
 A Glaucia sella, prenda tan querida,
 Quando digna en Melior de sentimiento,
 Por quien, aun no capaz de entendimiento,
 Gozó de libertad lo que de vida.
 A lo hermoso en costumbres, y en su cara
 Esto se dió, y debió. ¿Quién mas afable,
 Y quién mas lindo que al Sol vencía?

⁴³ *Idem*, p. 74.

Breve es la edad, y la vejez es rara
 En prodigios. Si quieres sea durable
 Lo que amas, no te agrade a demasia.⁴⁴

Far more satisfactory is the version of I, 64 made by Salinas and included in the forty-first Discourse as an example of a witty and ready reply:

Que eres bella conocemos,
 Fabula, y moza es verdad,
 Y rica y de calidad,
 ¿Como negarlo podemos?
 Pero despues que enfadosa
 Alabarte tanto quieres,
 Digo que rica no eres,
 Ni eres muchacha, ni hermosa.⁴⁵

The following translation of Martial's X, 47 seems to me to represent the Canon Salinas at his best:

Carisimo Marcial, escucha atento,
 Lo que discurre el dulce pensamiento:
 Que ha de tener la vida descansada,
 Para llamarse bienaventurada.
 Hacienda suficiente,
 Heredada del padre, o el pariente,
 Que del propio sudor es muy costosa,
 Fertil tierra, abundante y provechosa,
 Fuego alegre y perene,
 Dia libre de pleytos, y si tiene
 Algun oficio urbano, no procure
 Que mucho tiempo dure.
 Quieta la mente, la salud entera,
 Prudente candidez y verdadera,
 Iguales los amigos,
 Y que nunca se vuelvan enemigos.
 Ordinario el manjar, mesa sin arte,
 Sin ceremonia el gusto se reparte,

⁴⁴ *Idem*, p. 207.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

Noche no vinolenta,
 Sino de afan y de cuidado esenta.
 Blando lecho y honesto,
 Ni triste ni tampoco descompuesto,
 Que se mida el deseo
 Con la hacienda, los gustos y el empleo.
 Sin que otra cosa mas apeteciére
 De aquello que tuviere,
 Y por ultima al fin, precisa suerte,
 El no temer, ni desear la muerte.⁴⁶

In all Salinas translated sixty-three epigrams from Martial. In addition to these versions, he translated three epigrams from Ausonius,⁴⁷ five epigrams of Jaime Falcó, including the oft-repeated one on the birth of Cupid,⁴⁸ three from Scaliger, including the popular one beginning "Legerat aureolo Doris de crine capillum," (on p. 240-I), and the pleasing Latin epigram of Angeriano beginning "Flebat Amor, matremque suam quaerebat: at ipsa" frequently translated into Spanish. Thus Manuel Salinas was well acquainted with both the Latin and the neo-Latin poets.

One of the contemporaries of both Gracián and Salinas was the Sevillian poet Dr. Juan de Salinas y Castro (1559-1643), whose verse was approved for the press in 1646 but not actually printed until 1869 by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces. His *décima* *Al nuevo lenguaje culto*⁴⁹ is an attack against obscurity of language, although at times he seems to be a follower of Góngora. His Muse could be very religious and serious, or very witty and clever. He seemed to specialize in "poesías festivas o jocosas", many of which seem to reflect the spirit of Martial,⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-4.

⁴⁷ The *first* is the well-known one on Dido on p. 34; the *second* is No. 52 beginning "Orta salo, suscepta solo, patre edita Caelo," on p. 223, and the famous one on Venus armed (Ausonius, 64) on p. 250.

⁴⁸ See pp. 22-23, Note 18.

⁴⁹ *Poesías del Doctor D. Juan de Salinas y Castro*, ed. by Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, dos tomos, Sevilla, 1869; Vol. I, No. LXV, p. 263.

⁵⁰ Among those having an epigrammatic ending are the following compositions: the one entitled *A un fraile viejo, mentiroso y falto de dientes* (Vol. II, p. 283), the one addressed *A un abogado portugués, judío* (Vol. II, p. 222), and the Epitafio *A un javalí que mató la Duquesa de Osuna, que fue hermosísima señora* (Vol. II, p. 202.)

although none can be traced back directly to him. His sonnet (IX) entitled "Ejemplar de dos sucesos encontrados, en metáfora de una adúltera que quiso matar el marido con venenos (uno caliente y otro frio)"⁵¹ seems to be an imitation of Ausonius (No. III), beginning "Toxica zelotypo dedit uxor moecha marito."

The Sevillian poet Pedro de Quirós (d.1667) sometimes essayed grave or serious themes, but he usually wrote in a light vein. In the words of Menéndez y Pelayo:⁵² "Se inclinó al cultivo de la sátira, pero en su forma más ligera e inofensiva. Más bien que poeta satírico, fué jocoso y burlesco, sin punta ni hiel, y siguiendo en parte a aquellos dos sevillanos maestros del donaire y de la agudeza, Alcázar y Salinas,⁵³ pero en parte todavía mayor a los poetas conceptuosos y equivoquistas del siglo XVII, cuya tradición se continuó largamente en el siglo pasado."

Only two of his epigrams are based directly upon Martial. The first is a clever rendering of V, 83:

Siguióme Filis, huí;
Seguí yo a Filis, huyó.
Oh, si mi *no* fuera *sí*
Oh si mi *sí* fuera *no*!⁵⁴

The second is an imitation of Martial's III, 61:

De una empanada antojada,
Nisi empanada pidio,
Dar nada es cosa menguada,
Pues no quiero darla yo
Lo que al fin, al fin es nada.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Dr. Juan de Salinas, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 15.

⁵² *Poesías divinas y humanas del Padre Pedro de Quirós*. Edited with introduction by M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Sevilla, 1887, p. xxiii. His poetry was not published until the nineteenth century. Some of his verse may be read in Vol. xxxii of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*.

⁵³ He refers to Dr. Juan de Salinas whose verse was published at Seville in 1869 by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces.

⁵⁴ *Poesías divinas y humanas*, p. 67.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

Only an insignificant fraction of Quevedo's lyrical verse was published before the year 1648, three years after his death, when his friend Jusepe Antonio González de Salas (1588-1651) edited the first edition of his collected verse with the bizarre title *El Parnaso Español, Monte en dos cumbres dividido, con las Nueve Musas Castellanas*. We owe González de Salas a debt of gratitude, for had it not been for his intervention, some of Quevedo's verses, here preserved, might have been lost, and if he tampered with the texts and chose arbitrarily between the various versions, as he virtually confesses in his foreword, he was merely following the usual editorial practice of his time. We can less readily forgive him for burdening Quevedo's verse with tiresome commentaries with their parade of erudition couched in labored style. After reading these comments, we are in a position to appreciate Menéndez y Pelayo's remark: "Anduvo toda la vida con autores griegos en las manos, y no se le pegó cosa alguna de la forma helénica, y sólo le sirvieron para alardear de una erudición muy maciza y positiva, pero tortuosa y culterana."⁵⁶

In his *Previsiones al Lector*, the editor quotes Martial several times to illustrate his arguments. In speaking of the varied character of the volume of verse that he has gathered together, he quotes Martial's I, 16 which he translates:

Algo leerás bueno aqui,
Algo mediano, ya escucho,
Avito, que hay malo mucho;
Pero el libro se hace ansí.⁵⁷

He says that persons sometimes take offense at a poet's words, even though they were not directed against them, and quotes with translation Martial's III, 8 addressed to Quintus, the lover

⁵⁶ *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1896, Vol. III, p. 364.

⁵⁷ *Obras completas de Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo (Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces), Sevilla, 1897-1907, tres tomos, Vol. III, p. 341. In the *Prólogo al Lector* of Joseph Alfay's *Delicias de Apolo recreaciones del Parnaso, por las tres musas, Urania, Euterpe y Caliope; hechas de varias poesias, de los mejores ingenios de España*, Zaragoza, 1670, an almost identical translation of this epigram is found.

of Thais, which another Quintus took as a personal affront. Thereupon Martial was obliged to write another epigram (III, 11) which Quevedo's editor also translates, in which amends are wittily made to the mistaken Quintus:

Si no es Thais tu dama, ni
 Tuerta tampoco, ¿por qué
 Has de pensar, Quinto, que
 La coplilla se hizo a ti?
 Pero algo hubo semejante,
 Que es la tuya Lais, y Thais
 Dije yo. Díme, pues, ¿Lais
 De Hermione es mas distante?
 Mas tu eres Quinto; por esto
 Será bien demos distinto
 Nombre al amante, y pues Quinto
 No ama a Thais, ámela Sexto.⁵⁸

He states that he quotes this translation from his *Redivivo Marcial*, apparently a series of versions of Martial to which he refers elsewhere in the same volume. The seven translations which he quotes are the sole survivors of the manuscript.⁵⁹

The *Auroras de Diana* by Pedro de Castro y Añaya, first published at Madrid in 1632, consists of five stories (*auroras*) which are narrated for the entertainment of a distinguished lady named Diana. In the course of the narrative various

⁵⁸ *Idem*, Vol. III, pp. 345-6.

⁵⁹ Another manuscript containing translations from Martial which has also been lost is that of Tamayo de Vargas (1588-1641). In his *Ensayo de una biblioteca española*, Vol. IV, Col. 676, Gallardo quotes as follows from the tenth chapter of the *Cifra contracifra, antigua, moderna* of Tamayo de Vargas: "i entre ellos nuestro Español Valerio Marcial padre de las Gracias, y maestro de la agudeza, la pondera de suerte (I. XIV, Apophoret. epigr. 203), que se atreue a decir:

Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis,
 nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus,

que en nuestra lengua no tiene menor gracia que en la latina como se uerá en la maior parte de los epigrammas deste elegantissimo poeta, que a ratos perdidos auemos traducido, i quicá acauado si el cuidado de algun curioso ladron no nos ubiera cortado el hilo deste, de que me ha parecido dar noticia para que si algun dia se atreuiere a uenderlas por suias, la uerdad saque a luz su dueño con la prueba de no pocos amigos a quien las comunicué." The quoted epigram is XIV, 208 in the modern editions.

of the characters show their skill in verse-making, often on amatory topics as in the pastoral novels, but epigrams were also as popular in Diana's entourage as they were in courtly circles generally in the early seventeenth century.

There is only one composition in the volume that seems to have been suggested by Martial. It appears to be an abridgement of IV, 61:

A tus solares desnudos,
Tantos escudos vestiste,
Que siendo pobre, te hiciste
Rico con tantos escudos.
Mancio, que por varios modos
Nos cansas con tu ascendencia,
Libra escudos de paciencia
Para que te sufran otros.⁶⁰

In a long romance to Dido, he inserted the oft-repeated epigram from Ausonius translated as

Pues muriendo el uno, huyo,
Pues huyendo el otro, muero.⁶¹

To a long-nosed individual, Castro wrote

Ortiz, yo llego a creer
(Aunque há que naciste, Ortiz,
Treinta años) que tu nariz
No ha acabado de nacer.⁶²

To a critic he addressed this clever reply:

Clito, aquel uniuersal
Detractor y maldiziente,
Por dezir mal solamente,
De sí mismo dixo mal.
Notablemente ref

⁶⁰ *Auroras de Diana*, Murcia, 1632, fol. 42.

⁶¹ *Idem*, f. 51v.

⁶² *Idem*, f. 75.

De oir, Roselino, a quien
Solo acertó a decir bien
Cuando dixo mal de sí.⁶³

This drunkard's epitaph is a good example of his gay humor:

Yace aquí el mayor amigo
De Baco, y tan desgraciado,
Que murió passando el vado
A manos de su enemigo.
Su condicion exquisita
Fué tal, que entrando en el templo,
Aunque diera mal exemplo,
Nunca tomó agua bendita.⁶⁴

Like the *Auroras de Diana*, *La Cintia de Aranjuez* (1629) by Gabriel del Corral is a sort of *olla podrida* of verse and prose.⁶⁵ The companions of Cintia show an inveterate passion for poetry of every description, like characters in all the pastoral novels, and in this case we particularly welcome the epigrams read on various occasions which tend to relieve the tedium of the rest of the work.

La Cintia de Aranjuez contains sixty-four epigrams many of which show real talent. A few examples must suffice. He tells Inés to consult her mirror to learn the reason for his absence:

Siendo rica, y no pidiendo
Rara aue en nuestro pais,
Con ser piadosa; y en mis
Faltas remedio y remiendo.
No sabes por que te dexo,
Y colerica terrible
¿Pides la causa? ¿es possible,
Ines, que calla tu espejo?⁶⁶

⁶³ *Idem*, f. 74.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, f. 176v.

⁶⁵ See Dr. Hugo A. Rennert's *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 192-8, for a full discussion of this volume.

⁶⁶ *La Cintia de Aranjuez*, Madrid, 1629, epigram 12, fol. 50v.

He shows no mercy toward an incessant chatterer:

De ti suele murmurar
 Clenardo, aquel detractor;
 Que eres enxuto hablador,
 Pues no escupes por hablar.
 Mas aunque el naípe no dexes,
 Dizes siempre, y nunca paras,
 Yo sé, Arsenio, que callaras,
 Si tuuieras mis orejas.⁶⁷

In another composition he expresses the idea that fortune⁶⁸ and misfortune always run to extremes:

Balbo rico, y con salud,
 No ay cosa que no le sobre;
 Celso está enfermo, y tan pobre,
 Que da a entender su virtud.
 Loca condicion injusta
 De fortuna inmoderada,
 Que con muchos es sobrada,
 Y con ninguno se ajusta.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ep. 29, f. 13-13v.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, ep. 31, f. 13v.

IV

SPANISH EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the second half of the seventeenth century the popularity of the epigram actually threatened the supremacy of older Spanish literary forms. In earlier times, with a few exceptions, epigrams had been used chiefly to season a collection of sonnets and canciones, but in an age when cleverness and deftness of wit were in fashion, the epigram came to occupy a preferential position in the works of many poets, and in a few cases volumes entirely devoted to epigrams appeared. Furthermore, Martial and Ausonius were less used exclusively as sources of inspiration, and the works of various neo-Latin epigrammatists were translated and imitated.

Possibly the example of so distinguished a representative as Count Bernardino de Rebolledo (1597-1676) contributed somewhat to the vogue of the epigram in Spain. A soldier by profession, he was appointed ambassador to Denmark in 1648 and remained at Copenhagen until 1659. He published at Antwerp in 1650 a volume entitled *Ocios* which includes a large amount of rather grave lyrical verse, over fifty epigrams, an *entremés*, *Los maridos conformes*, and a tragicomedy entitled *Amar despreciando riesgos*.¹ Later volumes such as *Selva militar y política*, *Selva sagrada*, *La constancia victoriosa* and *Idilio sacro* deal with religious and moral topics.

Most readers of the *Ocios* will prefer the epigrams which Ticknor praises as among the best in Spanish when he declared: "But though he (Francisco de la Torre) wrote more good epigrams, and in a greater variety of forms, than any other individual Spaniard, he did not, perhaps, write the best or the most national; for a few of those that still remain anonymous, and a still smaller

¹ The *Ocios* of the Count of Rebolledo is most readily accessible in the edition of Sancha, Madrid, 1778, 4 vols.

number by Rebolledo, seem to claim this distinction."² Ticknor also states that Rebolledo "wrote them with spirit and effect."³ As we might expect, Martial was one of his guides. He paraphrases as follows Martial's epigram VII, 3:

No de severo me arguyas
 Por no haberte referido
 Mis obras; que sólo ha sido
 Por no escucharte las tuyas.⁴

He gives an excellent rendering of Martial's XI, 92:

De adulador nos da indicio
 Quien vicioso te llamó,
 Que siempre te tuve yo,
 Zoyo, por el mesmo vicio.⁵

The following was possibly suggested by Martial's epigram on the lady who refused all her distinguished suitors (V, 17), but the turn in the last line is entirely original:

Juró Filis en vano,
 Para vencer cierto recelo mio,
 Que Moro ni Cristiano
 No triunfaría jamás de su alvedrío,
 Ríndese a los presentes de un judío;
 Y lo que yo más siento,
 Jura que no ha quebrado el juramento.⁶

From Ausonius he retells as follows the famous epigram on Dido:

Desdichada en maridos
 Dido, en Virgilio luce,
 Huye por el que muere,
 Muere por el que huye.⁷

² *History of Spanish Literature*, 3 vols., London, 1849; vol. III, p. 15.

³ *Idem*, Vol. III, p. 14.

⁴ *Ocios*, 1778 edition, Vol. I, p. 87.

⁵ *Idem*, Vol. I, p. 84.

⁶ *Idem*, Vol. I, p. 362.

⁷ *Idem*, Vol. I, p. 154.

The original epigrams of Rebolledo are especially worthy of praise. On one occasion he was asked his opinion of the *Romance de Piramo y Tisbe* and of the commentary upon it, and he replied:

De este poema, señor,
Es la mas cierta censura,
Que fue escribirle, locura,
Y comentarle, mayor.⁸

To a cowardly doctor he wrote:

Señor Doctor, aunque es cierto,
Nadie creer ha podido,
Que hayais de pocos huido
Vos que tantos habeis muerto.⁹

Ticknor¹⁰ speaks in high praise of the epigram on the lady at prayer:

Pues el rosario tomais,
No dudo que le receis
Por mí, que muerto me habeis,
O por vos que me matais.¹¹

After speaking of earlier Spanish epigrammatists, Ticknor observes: "Of all, however, who indulged in them, nobody devoted to their composition so much zeal, and on the whole obtained so much success, as Francisco de la Torre, who, though

⁸ The caption referred to above appears in the edition of Amberes, 1660. (pp. 202-3, and note on p. 659) but not in that of 1778. It is likely that the poet referred to Góngora's poem on Piramus and Thysbe and to the elaborate commentary by Cristóbal de Salazar Mardones (1636).

⁹ *Ocios*, 1778 edition, Vol. I, p. 370.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 15-16, where he translates it as:

"Fair lady, when your beads you take,
I never doubt you pray;
Perhaps for my poor murdered sake,
Perhaps for yours, that slay.

Rebolledo was sometimes happier than he is in this epigram, though rarely more national."

¹¹ *Ocios*, 1778 ed., Vol. I, p. 337.

of the *culto* school, seemed to be able to shake off much of its influence when he remembered that he was a fellow-countryman of Martial. He took for the foundation of his humour the remarkable Latin epigrams of John Owen, the English Protestant, who died in 1622, and whose witty volume has often been translated and printed at home and abroad down to our times; a volume, it should be noted, so offensive to the Romish Church as to have been early placed on its Index Expurgatorius. But La Torre avoided whatever could give umbrage to the ecclesiastical authorities of his time, and, adding a great number of original epigrams quite as good as those he translated, made a collection that fills two volumes, the last of which was printed in 1682, after its author's death. But though he wrote more good epigrams, and in a greater variety of forms, than any other individual Spaniard, he did not, perhaps, write the best or the most national; for a few of those that still remain anonymous, and a still smaller number by Rebolledo, seem to claim this distinction."¹²

Little is known of the life of Francisco de la Torre, a homonym of the gentle poet whose verse was published by Quevedo in 1631. Born at Tortosa, he seems to have spent most of his life in Aragon. In 1654 he published at Saragossa a volume entitled *Entretenimiento de las Musas, en esta baraxa nueva de versos*, which is exceedingly rare. It is a collection of sacred, heroic, lyric and burlesque verses. One of the laudatory poems included in the preliminary material is the work of Manuel Salinas, and the aprobación, signed by Gracián, gives more than perfunctory approval: "Confieso que tenia estos dias postrado el apetito de un gran hartazgo de coplas; pero luego que comenzó a cebarse en los manjares desta nueva Baraja de versos tan llenos de sales, donaires, agudezas y concetos, de tal modo fué entrando en comer, que queda picado para otras muchas obras de su ingenioso autor D. Francisco de la Torre, en quien no es novedad, sino hábito, lo ingenioso y lo discreto."¹³

¹² George Ticknor, *op. cit.*, Vol III, pp. 14-15.

¹³ Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española*, Madrid, 1889, Vol. IV, Col. 763.

In the year 1674 the first part of the *Agudezas de Iuan Owen traducidas en metro castellano, ilustradas con adiciones y notas por Don Fransico de la Torre* appeared in Madrid and a second part was printed in 1682 after the poet's death, the date of which is uncertain.

John Owen (Ovenus or Audoenus) (1560?-1622) the Welsh schoolmaster and poet, was held in high repute both at home and abroad as an epigrammatist in the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries. His twelve books of *Epigrammata* were translated into German¹⁴ in 1653 and during the seventeenth century translations in whole or in part were made into English by Vicars,¹⁵ Pecke¹⁶ and Harvey¹⁷. A French translation by A. L. Lebrun¹⁸ appeared in 1709.

With respect to a Spanish translation of Owen's epigrams, a special difficulty presented itself, for Owen was a Protestant and often made sport of the Roman Catholic Church and his epigrams were placed on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum in 1654. It was necessary, then, for Francisco de la Torre to proceed with caution and to omit those compositions which might give offense. Perhaps to counterbalance these, or to complement those selected for translation, he added a considerable number of original compositions. A few examples of translations and of original verses must suffice.

We recall with pleasure the wit of the thief's quick repartee in Owen's epigram I, 123:

Al Ladron Bardela el zelo
De un Frayle, en la fatal pena,
Le dezia por consuelo:
"¡Buen ánimo, que en el Cielo
Se te apercibe la cena!"
Bardela respondió así:
"Padre, el consuelo aduerti;

¹⁴ E. Urban, *Owenus und die deutschen Epigrammatiker des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1900, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1929, Vol. XVI, p. 981.

¹⁶ *British Museum Catalogue of printed books*, London, 1893.

¹⁷ *Idem*.

¹⁸ *Idem*.

Oy ayuno en mi conciencia;
 Si quiere su Reuerencia,
 Vaya allá a cenar por mí."¹⁹

Owen's epigram II, 158 discusses obscurity of language which is translated as follows:

A Persio tenebroso puedo leerlo,
 Mas no alcanço a entenderlo,
 Que al explicarse escaso,
 Haze de sus letores poco caso.²⁰

As a supplement to this he adds:

En libro de ingenio, que
 De obscuro haze vanidad,
 Se mira la obscuridad,
 Y el ingenio no se ve.²¹

The readiness of a woman to change her opinion is illustrated by Owen's epigram I, 30 which he renders:

Contra el consorcio Alana arde,
 Y todo el día lo infama;
 "No hay iugo mas fuerte, clama,
 De la mañana a la tarde."
 Mas despues la misma Alana,
 En la noche se desdize;
 "No ay mas dulce iugo, dize,
 De la tarde a la mañana."²²

The following is a translation of one of Owen's epigrams on baldheads (II, 113):

Del modo que al correr astro violento,
 El impulso del viento
 En Otoño, ya tremulas, ya flojas,
 Sacude de los arboles las hojas:
 Assi el caluo, mouiendose a baiuenes;

¹⁹ *Agudezas de Iuan Owen*, 1674 ed., Parte I, p. 89.

²⁰ *Idem*, Parte I, p. 224.

²¹ *Idem*, Parte I, p. 224.

²² *Idem*, Parte I, p. 28.

Con gestos y ademanes de sus sienes,
Cabellos, que son hojas o corteza,
Sacude, sacudiendo la cabeza.²³

Martial and Owen are the chief sources of inspiration for the epigrams of the Sevillian priest Fernando de la Torre Farfán (1609-1677). His most important work, entitled *Templo panegyrico al certamen poético que celebró la Hermandad del Smo. Sacramento*, was published at Seville in the year 1663²⁴ which, in addition to original compositions, contains many poems by relatively obscure Sevillian poets.

The *Templo panegyrico* presents a contest in verse presided over by Apollo. Numerous Sevillian poets present their verses which are judged by the presiding officer and then comments are made in verse which often consist of translations from Latin poets such as Martial, Ovid, Virgil, Propertius, Tibullus, Ausonius, Owen and Sannazaro, depending upon the nature of the subject. In the compositions of epigrammatic character, the influence of Martial and John Owen is most marked.

In commenting on a satirical poem on noses, reference is made in the last stanza to Martial's poem (XII, 88) which is translated:

Nariz Tongiliano tiene,
Muy bien lo sé, no es mentira
Tal, que todo Tongiliano
No es mas de su nariz misma.²⁵

Likewise a satire on doctors recalls Martial's (I, 47) which is similarly translated:

²³ *Idem*, Parte I, p. 200.

²⁴ A copy of this rare and interesting book is found in the library of the Hispanic Society of America in New York. Twenty-eight epigrams translated from Martial, two from Ausonius, two from Sannazaro and thirty-six from Owen were reprinted in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XLII, pp. 568-569.

²⁵ *Templo panegyrico*, Sevilla, 1663, fol. 74-74v.

Diaulo enterrador es oy,
 Médico era poco ha;
 Mas quando médico hazia
 Lo que enterrador hará.²⁶

Blindness is illustrated by Martial's III, 8:

Quinto ama a Thaida.—¿Qué Thaida?
 —La que tiene un ojo falto;
 A Thaida le sobra el uno,
 Y a Quinto le faltan ambos.²⁷

Another poem on an inordinately long nose suggests Martial's XIII, 2 of which only the first verses are translated:

Narigon seas lo que basta
 Y al fin narigudo tanto,
 Cuanto por mucho no quiera
 Atlas llevar, ni rogado.²⁸

A composition criticizing those who recite badly recalls Martial's epigram I, 63:

Que te recite mis coplas
 Me dices, Celer; no quiero;
 Que no es por oír los míos,
 Sino por decir tus versos.²⁹

A glance at the Appendix will give some idea of the extent of the poet's indebtedness to Martial, translating twenty-nine of his epigrams with thirty versions. In his criticism of the verses of others he often puts on Martial's mantle and in brief, snappy versions he gives to his judgments a pungency and point which otherwise they would have lacked. Sometimes, he translates complete epigrams, sometimes he need use only a verse or two, but his versions are concise, direct and written in a style which shows little or no contamination with *culteranismo*.

²⁶ *Idem*, fol. 84v.

²⁷ *Idem*, fol. 95.

²⁸ *Idem*, fol. 100v.

²⁹ *Idem*, fol. 102.

He must have been of a satirical turn himself for it was this quality that he seems to have admired most in Martial.

Torre Farfán also translated four epigrams of Ausonius,³⁰ four Latin poems of Sannazaro³¹ and thirty-six of John Owen. In a later work entitled *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia de Seuilla al Culto, nueuamente concedido al senor Rei San Fernando III, de Castilla i Leon*, Seuilla, 1671, the author describes one of the church doors, and Martial in mind, translates the first epigram in the book on the Spectacles.

Agustín de Salazar y Torres³² (1642-1675) is known chiefly as a dramatist and imitator of Góngora in elaborate descriptive poems on mythological subjects, but the first part of his *Cythara de Apolo*, published at Madrid in 1681 by his friend, and Calderón's editor, Juan de Vera Tassis, contains in addition to a large amount of lyrical verse and some dramatic pieces, fourteen epigrams translated from Latin and Greek.

These translations show an interest in epigrams, to be sure, but they did not inspire the poet to write original epigrammatic compositions. Strangely enough, Martial does not figure in the list of translations. Four epigrams of Ausonius were translated,

³⁰ The first of these translations is epigram 13 of Ausonius beginning "Haec Rufi tabula est," and the Spanish version begins "Este retrato es de Rufo," which is found in fol. 81v of the *Templo*. The second on fol. 110v beginning "No quitas de tu alabanza," is a translation of two lines (Nos. 11-12) from the Parentalia (XIV) of Ausonius beginning "Nil aevi breuitate tamen tibi laudis ademptum." The third on fol. 146v beginning "Que eso el Rector me dijese" is a rendering of the last two lines of epigram X of Ausonius. The last on fol. 239-240 is a long uninteresting version of epigram V, beginning "Latratus catulorum, hinnitus fingis equorum." The first line of Torre Farfán's faithful reproduction is "Latidos finges de perros."

³¹ The first from Sannazaro (*Jacobi, sive Actii Synceri Sannazarii, Poemata, Patavii*, 1731, liber I, 29, p. 172) begins "Esse tibi sapiens et vir, Fabiane, videris:" excellently produced in the composition beginning "Para tí varon y sabio." On fol. 103v is the poem beginning "A Hypolita, Leda, quieres" translated from epigram II, 34 whose first line is "Hippolyten, Leden, Thelisinam diligis unus." The last two lines of Sannazaro's I, 25 were translated faithfully into four Spanish lines beginning "Tu, obscuro, las sombras amas," found on fol. 259. "Todo dizes que has de hazerlo" is the first line of the translation (on fol. 264) of Sannazaro's I, 46 beginning "Omnia facturum te decis, nil facis, Olle."

³² The best biography of Salazar y Torres is found in the *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español* por C. A. de la Barrera y Leirado, Madrid, 1860, pp. 358-61.

including the popular *Collige, Virgo, rosas* and the *Armatam Pallas Venerem Lacedemone visens*, which was rendered thus:

Miró Palas armada
 En las aras de Atenas a Ericina,
 Y a la palestra osada
 Segunda vez llamarla determina,
 Por más que Paris sea
 El recto juez de la feliz pelea;
 Pero Venus hermosa,
 ¿Qué me provocas, dice, belicosa,
 De tu injuria olvidada,
 Si en vencerte no hay duda?
 Si te rindo desnuda,
 ¿Qué hará, Minerva, mi deidad armada?³³

A comparison of this version with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's shows how Spanish poetry had lost its clarity as a result of Góngora's innovations.

A few of these epigrams are translated from Latin versions of Greek authors, such as Meleager and Mathario; two are by Girolamo Angeriano; and Jaime Falcó, Sannazaro, Pentadio, Alciato, and Poliziano contribute one each to the total. These translations show skill and good taste and compare favorably with the poet's original compositions.

In discussing Castilian versions of Horace's *Ars poetica*, Menéndez y Pelayo mentions the translation by Father Joseph Morell of the Jesuit Society included in a volume entitled *Poesías selectas de varios autores latinos, traducidas en verso castellano, e ilustradas con notas de la Erudición que encierran*, published at Tarragona in 1683 and comments as follows upon the author: "El P. Morell no era poeta, pero sí hombre de agudo y despejado ingenio, dotado de esa elegante y diserta facilidad de versificador, que ha sido tan común entre los de su Orden, como raro el talento poético propiamente dicho. Su asiduo comercio con las musas latinas, y el alejamiento en que vivió de la literatura cortesana, le salvaron casi completamente del culteranismo que en su tiempo lo infestaba todo."³⁴

³³ *Cythara de Apolo, varias poesías divinas y humanas*, Madrid, 1681, p. 46.

³⁴ *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1896, tomo III, p. 310.

The bulky volume of *Poesías selectas* contains the Latin texts and translations of Martial, Horace, Ausonius and a number of neo-Latin poets such as Jaime Falcó, Mureto, Alciato, John Owen and Scaliger, and to these he added original Latin epigrams with translations. Among these, Martial seems to have been his favorite for he translated no less than 142 of his epigrams and showed the result of his study of Martial in his original compositions.

It is only possible here to give a sampling from the translations of Martial. He turned into Spanish nearly the whole of the book on the Spectacles, but is more successful in those epigrams in which brevity and conciseness are imposed upon him by the original. Martial's protest against a plagiarist (I, 29) is translated thus:

Fidentino, dicen que
 Sueles recitar mis libros
 Al pueblo, no de otra suerte
 Que si fueran tus escritos.
 Si quieres que míos sean
 De valde te los envío;
 Y si tuyos, compralos,
 Porque así no sean míos.³⁵

Father Morell seems to have been especially fond of Martial's satirical compositions. He apparently shared the latter's dislike of self-conceit and translates as follows Martial's I, 9 and 10:

Ansioso andas por tener
 De hombre bello, y grande el nombre:
 Esto se opone a mi ver,
 Cotta, que quien busca ser
 Bello, tiene poco de hombre.³⁶

Con Maronila Gemelo
 Pretende casarse ansioso,
 Desealo cuydadoso,

³⁵ *Poesías selectas*, Tarragona, 1683, p. 196.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Lo insta y ruega con desvelo;
 Dones le da sin recelo.
 ¿Tan bello es su parecer?
 Antes no ay talle a mi ver
 Tan feo y que tanto enfade:
 ¿Que ve, pues, que assi le agrade,
 Y le contente? El toser.³⁷

Martial rebukes Gellia in seven epigrams, as in I, 33, where she laments in public the death of her father but never thinks of him when alone. Morell's is the only Spanish version of this composition:

Por su Padre difunto, estando a solas
 Nunca de llanto arroja tristes olas
 Gelia: mas si alguno la visita
 Luego un mar a sus ojos solicita.
 El amargo pesar, Gelia, no alcança
 A quien en el dolor busca alabança:
 Aquel que sin testigos gime austero
 Esse tiene el quebranto verdadero.³⁸

Martial discloses in II, 16 that Zoilus feigns illness in order to show his rich bed-trappings:

Zoilo doliente se halla; esta terciana
 La ocasiona su cama de oro y grana.
 Si se hallaran templados sus humores
 ¿Que harian tan preciosos cobertores?
 ¿Que de Egypto su talamo trahido?
 ¿Que el hecho de oloroso ambar teñido?
 ¿Tu enfermedad que muestra en esas piezas,
 Sino entre vanidad necias riquezas?
 ¿Porque Medicos llamas? los Macaones
 Despide, pues no alivian tus passiones.
 Quieres que la salud tu cuerpo cobre,
 Toma la ropa de mi cama pobre.³⁹

Morell is the only Spaniard who translated II, 65 which makes sport of the grief of Saleianus at the death of his wife who had brought him a fortune:

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁸ *Idem*, p. 197.

³⁹ *Idem*, pp. 231-2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-5.

APPENDIX A

SPANISH AUTHORS AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS FROM MARTIAL

- Acuña, Hernando de, *De Spectaculis*, 25B.
 Alcázar, Baltasar del, III, 61; IV, 65.
 Alenquer, Marquis of, *De Spectaculis*, 25B.
 Alfay, Joseph, I, 16.
 Anónimo, I, 19.
 Argensola, Bartolomé Leonardo de, I, 19; II, 9; V, 29; IX, 15.
 Arguijo, D. Juan de, *De Spectaculis*, 25B; I, 21.
 Bivar, Sebastián de, II, 86.
 Caro, Rodrigo, *De Spectaculis*, 19; I, 100; II, 28; V, 31, 84; X, 86; XII, 54;
 XIV, 14, 15, 16, 163, 164, 168, 169, 173.
 Cascales, Francisco, I, part of Prologue, 59, 63, 71; II, 16, 86; III, 4; IV, 8,
 30; IX, 61; XI, 107; XII, 54; XIV, 163.
 Castro y Añaya, Pedro de, IV, 61.
 Cetina, Gutierre de, *De Spectaculis*, 25B.
 Coloma, D. Juan, *De Spectaculis*, 25B.
 Cueva, Francisco de la, I, 42.
 Delitala y Castelví, Jose, I, 109; V, 74.
 Esquilache, Príncipe de, I, 19; VIII, 22; XIV, 75.
 Garcilaso de la Vega, *De Spectaculis*, 25B.
 González de Salas, I, 16, 98; III, 8, 11; IV, 49; X, 21, 33; XIV, 167; XV, 9.
 Gracián, Baltasar, *De Spectaculis*, 13, 18, 25B; I, 6, 13, 19, 62, 64, 75, 79, 110;
 II, 3, 13, 58; III, 13, 61, 66; IV, 18, 32, 44; V, 13, 17, 43, 69, 74, 81; VI,
 3, 12, 53, 69; VII, 83, 98; VIII, 6, 12, 17, 19, 27, 79; IX, 46; X, 13.
 Guzmán, Juan de, I, 13, 16, 25, 38, 49, 52, 91, 98; IV, 32.
 Herrera, Fernando de, *De Spectaculis*, 25B.
 Hurtado de Mendoza, D. Diego, V, 74.
 Jáuregui, Juan de, *De Spectaculis*, I and 28; I, 21; VIII, 73; X, 21.
 Jiménez Patón, XI, 92.
 López, Diego, I, 8; III, 24, 60.
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